THE KASHF AL-MAHJUB

A Persian Treatise on Sufism

By

Hazrat Ali bin Usman Al-Hujwiri(R.A)

Preface By

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Publisher's Note

Kashf Al-Mahjub, the Revelation of the Mystery, by Ali bin Uthman Al-Hujwiri is a celebrated work on the subject of *tasawwuf*, Islamic mysticism, and has been held in high esteem by men of learning and students of sufiism. It has been translated in various languages. The English translation by prof. R.A. Nicholson, the renowned orientalist and teacher of Cambridge University, published in 1911, is, in spite of being and abridged version, still unsurpassed in its clear and faithful rendering of the original.

Since its first appearance in 1911 Prof. Nicholson' translation has been issued by a number of publishers and is readily available. The most distinguishing feature of the present edition by Zia-ul-Qur'an Publications is its introduction which is an English translation of a comprehensive and illuminating monograph on mysticism by Pir Muhammad Karam Shah Al-Azhari, an eminent traveller of the Path in his own right. His knowledge of the Qur'an and the Shariah matches his grasp of the subtleties, intricacies and mysteries of the mystic tradition in Islam. Thus when he writes on mysticism, he exhibits a remarkable ability to see and appreciate it both from within and without, and this gives his treatment of the subject lucidity as well as authenticity. He examines the objections to the value and reasonability of the esoteric approach to eternal truth with remarkable acumen, and provides satisfactory answers. His approach is both analytical and interpretative.

This valuable exposition of Islamic mysticism will, I am sure, form a fitting prologue to *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, and help the reader understand even its most difficult and obscure passages. It will also serve to dispel the confusion

and misconceptions that have defiled the purity of mysticism.

Major (Rtd) Muhammad Ibrahim Shah,
Zia-ul-Qur'an Publications,

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بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم

FOREWORD

اللهم لك الحمد على كبرياء ك ولك الشكر علىٰ حسن توفيقك

وجزيل عطاء ك والصلوة والسلام علىٰ طور التجليات الاحسانية

ومهبط الاسرار الرحمانية سيدنا و مولانا محمد وعلىٰ آله

واصحابه واحباء ه الى يوم الدين

O Allah! All Praise is due to Thee Exalted Magnificence and all Thanks on Thine Elegant Grace of granting help and the Magnificence of awards (for doing good). And Greetings of Prayers and salutations on that Grand Personality Hazrat Muhammad (May peace be upon him) who is Mountain of the Brilliance and Splendour of compassion and kindness and the repository of the Divine Secrets, our Leader and Master as also the greetings unto his family members and his Companions and his beloveds till the advent of the Day of Judgment.

By the Grace of Almighty Allah! The institution Zia-ul-Qur'an Publications, Lahore has been instrumental in advancing and promulgating the Cause and Mission of Islam in and beyond the borders of the subcontinent and achieved tremendous success in its endeavours within its comparatively short span of existence, in spite of multiplicity of like institutions devoted to the same Mission.

It is not a mere empty boast and false self praise that in a short period of time this Idarah Zia-ul-Quran succeeded beyond expectation in bringing out five voluminous editions of the *Tafsir Zia-ul-Qur'an* in a standard and elegant format both in external appearance consisting of

high quality of calligraphy (*Kitabat*), attractive printing, stout binding based on modern technique, all these achievements and perfections were possible only with the Grace of Almighty Allah and devoted unflinching cooperation of the staff and workers attached with this organization". Idarah was also graced by the Almighty to publish many other valuable books on allied Islamic subjects, thus enlarging the circles of searchers of Divine Truths in various fields of academic enlightenment.

Now this same Institution is publishing the universally acclaimed and ever-enchanting book Kashf Al Mahjoob (literally translated Manifestation of the Veiled) written by the great spiritual Mentor and erudite Islamic Scholar Syed Ali bin Usman Al-Jalabi, popularly known and venerated as Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh (May Allah's Mercy be on him). The book was originally written some hundred years ago and has since been translated in various Eastern and Western Lanuages, prominent of which are Persian and Urdu languages, the latter in the subcontinent, especially more in Pakistan after Partition) and in English, Germany and some other foreign languages. The book has indeed served as a beacon tower of enlightenment and guidance, particularly in the realm of religious philosophy and mysticism or spiritualism which is known as *Tasawwuf.*

I think it appropriate that in the foreword of this mystic compendium of the major issues of the spiritual science the fundamental indispensable aspects of the Tasawwuf maybe explained in an intelligible simple and plausible manner so that the young inquisitive mind may not only find it pleasingly impressing to his mind but also induce him to assimilate and retain this absorbing spiritual technology to serve him as a guiding light in his future endeavours in this ultra fascinating universe. This presentation will also enable the inquisitive reader to comprehend and resolve the

dogmatic objections raised in this behalf, either by misguided so-called educated persons or the biased deliberate outpourings of the diehard opponents of the *Tasawwuf* (Mysticism) itself ! Such an approach it is expected, will wash clean the dirt and dust on the minds and hearts of enthusiastic researchers of truth, which the unclean rubbish has so dexterously and unabashedly scattered all over the otherwise pure and pristine atmosphere of the country. After presenting some salient features of *Tasawwuf* in the present introduction as a complimentary watchword, I am inclined to present a brief biographical sketch of the great mystic Monarch of the East Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh delineating simultaneously the evershining anecdotes of his moral spiritual character (*seerat*). This will also give an opportunity of briefly outlining the glaring aspects of the book under review.

First of all we shall discuss the grammatical significance of the word, 'Soofi' and find out its origin of derivation, that is what is the root word from which the word Soofi has been derived (adopted) and what are its usages by different persons to convey their ideas concerning the concept of spiritualism latent in this word.

Abu Raihan Al-Bairuni (973 AH – 1048 AH) is the well known scholar. He was an expert in Medicine, Astronomy, Chronology and History at one and the same time. He spent many years in the Indian subcontinent. He had acquired expert knowledge of the purely Indian Language Sanskrit and studied the living conditions under the Indian culture and civilization prevalent at that time and was well versed in the customs and mannerisms of those days of the past. He was of the opinion that "the origin of the word Soofi was soof (with the letter seen of Arabic Alphabets) which meant wisdom. It is for this reason that the intellectuals and men of wisdom are called 'Philasoof in

which the first part 'Phila' stands for lover and the other part Soof means wisdom and the full word 'Philasoof' means the lover of wisdom. (The word 'Philosoof' later assumed the spelling 'Philasopher' in English and other Western languages). And when the word 'philasoof' was Arabicised it became 'Soofi' (Arabic letters Swaad, Wow, Fay and Yay). The concept of Greek Philosophers in this respect was that the Real Existence or Absolute Reality belonged to the Authority Who was Himself the Primal cause of all creations and Independent of the necessity and association of all the creatures while all the latter (creatures) are dependent and subject to the Will and Disposition of their Supreme Creator. This in other words means that the Real Existence is that same Primal cause which is Eternal and Immortal while the existence of the rest of creature is unreal and perishable or Transitory and Mortal, existing only in concepts and mental fibres! Since this concept of existence for both the Absolute Real or Eternal and the Transitory and perishable bears affinity with a sect of Philosophers of the East, the latter group of thinkers were given the title of Soofi which nomenclature still exists in the annals of Soofi'ism or spiritualism.

But this concept or ideology of Al-Bairuni is not acceptable in its entirety, for the simple reason that the work of transferring the Greek Cyclopaedia into Arabic language was undertaken only in approximately the half of the third century A.H. whereas since the word Soofi was already in vogue as part of the spoken Arabic language much earlier than that, the concept of the word Soofi as a derivation of Greek Philosophy does not remain tenable. The person who was nicknamed 'Soofi' for the first time in the Arabic History was Abul Hashim Alkufi who died in the year 150 A.H. that is one hundred year before the work of translating Greek Literature into Arabic Language actually started. Therefore the enunciation of Al-Bairuni in

regard to the nomenclature or title of Soofi does not have force for being accepted as true. Perhaps Al-Bairuni was confronted with the dilemma that if this derivation from Greek mythology be not accepted then the Arabic term of the Days of *Jahiliyah* would deprive the inclusion of Allah's Existence as the Primal cause and Might of creation would suffer negation and this would be against the fundamental concept of Soofi'ism which regards Almighty Allah as the source and power of all the creation in the universe. Al-Bairuni tried to maintain the sanctity of the term Soofi based on the wisdom and recognition of the Primal Reality, but in his zest for purity of concept derived from the Greek Literature he failed to realize that in this way he placed the Islamic concept of Soofi'ism secondary and subservient to Greek Philosophy which was against the fact and therefore untenable according to Muslim intelligentsia. It was the Al-Bairunian theory of the Soofi'ism as an offshoot of Greek Philosophy which was roundly denounced and rejected in spite of the fact that the theory of Al-Bairuni was co-shared by certain sectors of Muslim thinkers of vested interest who had their own ulterior motives to support Al-Bairuni.

According to some scholars, the word 'Soofi' has been derived from its root word 'safa' (Swaad, Alif, Fay, Alif) meaning pure and clean because of their belief in the Internal and External purity and cleanness (of body and the soul of the person) for which they took extraordinary precautions! This earned them the epithet of Soofi which satisfied them!! However the rules of grammar do not permit such an innovation and liberty with the syntax and the grammar of the Arabic language. If the persons concerned prided on being Internally and Externally clean and still remaining associated with the creed of Soofis, they should better be called as *SAFAWI* (Spelling Swaad, Alif, Fay Alif, Wow and Yay). It is not proper that the rules of

any root of derivation to base its structure in respect of this original or applied nomenclature.

Allama Ibne Khuldun has also concurred with the opinion of Imam Qushairi.

After examing and searching the origin or derivation of the word 'Soofi', we now propose to discuss and delineate the various aspects of *Tasawwuf* (Mysticism) in regard to its concept and implications. Allama Ibne Khaldun in the Preamble (Introduction) to his book on *Ilmul Tasawwuf* explains the significance of the word *Tasawwuf* as under:

اصل التصوف العكوف على العبادة والانقطاع الى الله تعالى والاعراض عن زخرف الدنيا وزينتها والزهد فيما يقبل اليه الجمهور من لذة وما وجاه..... وكان ذالك عاما فى الصحابة والسلف

Translation: The word '*Tasawwuf*' means to always enage oneself constantly in the worship of and concentration towards Almighty Allah, bending all energy and thinking with extreme absoluteness towards Him and Him alone, extricating himself and keeping aloof from every tinge of sensual mundane pleasures mostly consisting of avarice of wealth and worldly status etc. which incidentally are the fountain head of all the evils in all spheres of human life on earth. This was in general the pattern and mode of life of the Companions of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) and devoted righteous persons who succeeded them.

People in general while defining the term '*Tasawwuf*' lean heavily towards the moral side of the human behaviour. Incidentally this concept is also popular among the 'Soofis' of the day Some examples of this concept or ideology of '*Tasawwuf*' propounded by learned scholars

are given below which throws more lights on this puristic human thoughts and behaviour known as *Tasawwuf*.

Abu Bakr Al kalani (d.233 A.H.) says:

التصوف خلق ومن زاد عليك فى الخلق فقد زاد عليك فى الصفاء

Translation: *Tasawwuf* is the name of *Khulq* (Moral conduct). One who excels you in '*Khulq*' will also excel you in cleanness which stands for cleanness (*safa'ee*) both internal as well as external.

Abu Muhammad Al Jarayri (d 311 AH) on being asked what is meant by *Tasawwuf*, said:

الدخول فى كل خلق سنى والخروج من كل خلق دنى

Translation: To inculcate high quality and nice mode of moral character (*Khulq*) and to get rid of every deed of mean and debased nature is the meaning of *Tasawwuf* (Mysticism)

Abul Hasan Ahmad Al Noori defines Tasawwuf in these simple words :

ليس التصوف رسما و علما ولكنه خلق

Tasawwuf is neither a formality of custom and ceremony nor even the knowledge (*Ilm*) but it is the name of *Khulq* (Excellent moral character).
At another place, he says :

التصوف: الحرية والكرم وترك التكلف والسخاء

Tawawwuf is the other name (being synonymous to) Liberty or Freedom, Benovolence, abstinence from formal or showy behaviour and charitable Disposition.
Although this definition of *Tasawwuf* has gained currency and popularily from the point of view of moral conduct among the concerned sector of people, yet this cannot be

said as the comprehensive definition of this spiritual creed. There are many learned people who also bear excellent moral character, but they cannot be regarded as Soofis and perhaps they themselves do not approve of this epithet with their name and personality. The concept and application of this special segment of spiritual sciences has its own peculiar charm and acceptance but the people who would be prepared to acknowledge these attributes of Soofi'ism would be of a limited range of supporters of this particular trend of *Tawawwuf.* It is correct that foundation - stone of true *Tasawwuf* is excellent star grade of moral conduct but being a very peculiar brand of spiritualism which the *Tasawwuf* is, the real definition of *Tasawwuf* would not fit in this frame.

Another aspect or feature of *Tasawwuf* which excels other modes of religious practices is the element of *Zuhd*, literal meaning, abstinence, continence or extreme devotion to the religion at the cost of even the permissible limited freedom of enjoyment of worldly affairs, mostly in respect of familial social life. This concept of *Zuhd* is very close to the cult of monasticism known as '*Rohbaniyat*', and ordinarily this single trait of religious devotion could be taken as synonymous to *Tasawwuf*, but on close examination we find that even *Zuhd* falls short of the definition of the creed of *Tasawwuf*, in spite of the fact that the heart of the *Zahid* (one who has adopted the attribute of *Zuhd* as the mainstay of his spiritual life) remains unattracted (rather repulsive of) by the pleasures and delights of the permissible indulgence. But the fact still remains that this trait of absolute abstinence (*Zuhd*) is one thing and the niceties and delicacies of *Tasawwuf* is another brand of thing and the twain cannot be taken as interchangeable with one another! Some people are inclined to call an extreme devotee of worship as 'Soofi', but this is an underestimation of *Tasawwuf* though this may

not be an over valuation of *Zuhd*. Such a person with all his preoccupation in religious worship cannot be equated with a true bred Soofi.

Ibne Sina, perhaps the greatest exponent of all social, moral and medical sciences affecting the human destiny on earth (and even beyond!) has differentiated between the three seemingly allied modes of religious devotion namely the *Zahid* (devoted to *Zuhd* or abstinence of worldly pleasures) *Aabid* (devoted to over-engagement in worship) and the 'Soofi' in his famous book '*AL-ISHARAAT* in the following candid exposition:

"The man who is devoted to absolute abstinence of worldly pleasures is called '*Zahid* and the man who keeps almost every moment of his life devoted to worship is remembered among the people with the epithet of Aabid and

والمنصرف بفكره الى القدس الجبروت مستديما لشروق نور الحق فى سره يخص باسم العارف

the man who keeps his attention perennially focussed towards the Holy Omnipotence (*Qudoos-e-Jabroot*) and expects every moment the Manifestations of Divine Light in his inner self to illumine every bit of spectrum of his life as a whole, is recognised and venerated with the ever shining title of *Aarif* (Recognizant of Divine Manifestation in all things in the universe) and in the opinion of *Hakeem* Ibne Sina only such an exceptional individual among the countless creatures of Almighty Allah is worthy of being honoured and remembered with the title of a (true) Soofi."

The two here mentioned categories of worshipers namely *Zahid* and *Aabid* adopt the modes of worship through abstinence of worldy pleasures and over preoccupation in devoted worship of Allah respectively in compliance to their mental and sentimental inclinations

with the sole intention of seeking deliverance from the fire of the Hell on the Day of Judgment and getting admitted in the gardens of Paradise where they would enjoy and please themselves eternally with the Bounties and Delicacies of the Paradise as a compensatory reward for their respective abstinence from wordly ease and comfort (by the *Zahids*) and over preoccupation in the worship of Almighty Allah (*Aabids*). But in the sight of the Soofi both these concepts are not the central focus of his attention. Overlooking the Dread of Fire of Hell and the Pleasures of the Paradise, the heart and mind, both in perfect unison and Harmony are rivetted to the Remembrance and Love of Almighty Allah Who Himself and Whose Pleasure are the central focal aim of their Inner Eye, and pray that this holy chain of Divine Rays ever continues till their last breath of earthly life so that the continuum of Divine Manifestation remains unbroken even after the entry in the Eternal world of the Hereafter through gate of the grave.

A true Soofi is unconcerned and disinterested either of Fear of Hell or the Greed of the Paradise. He worships Almighty Allah with the unswerving Faith that to only Allah and Almighty Allah Alone are due all the Praise and Worship and no one else besides. The following enunciation of Hazrat Rabiah Basri illustrates and affirms the here-mentioned maxim which is the gist and soul of the Soofis life. One day she prayed to Almighty

اللهم ان كنت اعبدك خوفا من نارك فالقنى فيها

O Allah! If I worship thee out of the fear of Hell Fire, then throw me down into that Fire.

وان كنت اعبدك طمعا فى جنتك فاحرمينها

"And if I worship Thee in the Greed of Thine Paradise, then deprive me of that Paradise"

وان كنت اعبدك لوجهك الكريم فلا تحرمنى من رويته

"And If I devote myself in thine worship with the hope of vision of Thine Grand Countenance (Visage) O my Beloved Allah then do not deprive me from that Vision of Thine."

This shows that *Tasawwuf* is not the name only of Grand Norms of moral conduct nor the abstinence from the worldly pleasures nor even the preoccupation of Divine worship during the day and night even though it comprises of both these elements as integral parts of its edifice, yet the Real *Tasawwuf* is something different and above all other things.

Therefore we are still in search of the true and infallible definition of the creed *Tasawwuf*, for which we proceed further in our search in this behalf !

Abu Saeed Al-Kharraz (d.268 AH) while answering a questioner about 'Soofi' said:

من صفى ربه قلبه فامتلا قلبه نورا ومن دخل فى عين اللذة بذكر الله

"One whose heart his Lord (Allah) cleans and purifies and his heart gets filled with the Divine Light and he gets himself immersed in the ecstatic pleasures the moment the Rituals of Remembrance of Allah begin in his soul or in group of the devotees of his Calibres only such a person is worthy of being mentioned as the Soofi".

Hazrat Junaid Baghdadi defines '*Tasawwuf*' in these memorable words :

التصوف: هو ان يميتك الحق عنك ويحييك به

"It means that Tasawwuf is that (extra sensori) perception in which Almighty Allah annihilates the self of you (outward existence) and grants you a fresh (revived) life to accompany His own Divine Self."

The definition given by Abu Bakr Al-kitani is the masterpiece of both being concise and comprehensive :

التصوف: صفاء و مشاهدة

"*Tasawwuf* is the name of purification (from evils) and observation (of Nature's Manifestations in the Universe). out of these two attributes the first (Safa or Purification) is the cause (genesis or source of origin) and the other attribute namely observation is the Effect or aim and the desired goal. This definition is very comprehensive or all inclusive which also includes the pathway or which the *salik* (passerby) travels from one stage (destination, or manzil) to another higher stage till he attains perfection in the Path of Divine Journey. *Hujjatul Islam* Imam Ghizali has given a rather detailed explanation of this reality in his famous book '*Ihya-ul-Uloom*" He says:

الطريق: تقديم المجاهدة ومحو الصفات المذمومة وقطع العلائق كلها والاقبال بكنه الهمته على الله تعالى ومهما حصل ذلك كان الله المتولى لقلب عبده المتكفل له بتنويره بانوار العلم

Translation: The first step in the pathway of the Destination is that he (*Salik*) should undertake 'endeavour (hard work by way of *Mujahidah*); destroy and get rid of evil deeds, snap up all the extraneous relations and associations, and bend all his energy towards concentration of Divine Manifestation mirroring the Entity (*Zaat*) of Almighty Allah. When the traveller (*Salik*) attains this noble and sacred perfection, then Almighty Allah Himself becomes the Guardian and Protector of the heart of His servant and becomes the Guarantor of providing Light and Guidance from the Divine Treasures of enlightenment and inspiration"

This is, in essence, the perception of *Tasawwuf* which Friends of the Almighty – Auliya Allah declare as the Aim and Destiny of their life. They spend the entire span of their life in pursuit of this idea of 'safa' and *Tazkiyah* (cleanness and purity of their thoughts and deeds traversing willingly and cheerfully the difficult and thorny pathway to their avowed goal in the attainment of which they do not hesitate to dedicate and sacrifice every breath of their existence on the globe, and when after crossing all these hurdles and pitfalls which occur as a natural course, they reach the destination and enter the portals of their Spiritual Mansion, they glorify Almighty Allah Who has enabled them to arrive at a station which will provide them all the spiritual ease and comfort and utilise their stay at the said Mansion as a means and resource of communion with the Lord Creator and Cherisher of the universe, Almighty Allah. This in essence is the Life of Real Vicegerent of Allah on earth (Khalifatullah Fil Arz) in the Quranic enunciation of Divine Disposition of creation.

This concept of Tasawwuf, literal and conventional presented in the foregoing has been rather unfortunately subjected to harsh and uncalled for treatment as a refined and transparent code of life by itself as an entity, by some narrow parochial minded so-called, modernist liberal intellengtsia of the past as well as the present time without presenting any plausible or simplistic argument against this purely spiritual mode of life which does not harm any other cult of living nor forces others as a compulsive ideology to adopt it against their free will. The opposition and slandering against this purely hypothetical voluntary mode and code of life is mounting as the days pass by with no relenting end in sight. The only reason for the undeserved opposition to this spiritualising and inwardly reformative creed, in the midst of diehard materialism with a group of wavering misguided youth aided and abetted by their like

minded elders, is that the pattern of life which we see around us is so permissive and uncontrolled that the people who have willingly swallowed this sweet bitter poison are not prepared to abandon their merry makings and pleasures unless the dreaded consequences of this extravagant indulgences come before them with an unreversible force; and when it comes -- as it must -- it will be too late to make any amends!

The other reason of this opposition might be that despite all potentials used to thwart the irresistible march of spiritualism among the conscientious element of Islam loving youths, who will sacrifice their everything when time comes to protect the true Islamic ideology at any cost, all their endeavours in this behalf have so far proved of no worth. So the antagonists have resorted to hurl accusations and abuses against this Brand of practical enlightenment which primarily aims at stemming the moral not so deeply enrooted among the infested elements of the Muslim Society.

We are conscious that merely raising the accusing fingers against the antagonists of *Tasawwuf* (Spiritualism) will not be enough to silence and reform the critics unless we face and counter challenge the challengers and grapple with the issues boldly and convincingly.

However before proceeding further in this grim resolve, I must make one thing clear without mincing words, that we must admit, at the outset that a not negligible element of the outward mantled so-called Soofis have drilled their way and got themselves unrecognisably mixed up with the real and genuine Soofis and are equally dexterously undermining the edifice of *Tasawwuf* and Soofi'ism. These hidden enemies working as insiders and informers are duly backed up by outsiders both in men and

material, which aspect has made the challenging task of fighting against this menace still more difficult accompanied by the consummation of time and patience at one and the same time.

We now examine and answer the patent objections brought forth by the critics of *Taswwuf*, with as much clarity and straight forwardly as is possible. First Objection: The greatest objection against the *Tasawwuf* which has been made in the past and still continues, is that the origin and source of induction of this creed are not the Book of Allah, the Holy Qur'an and the *Ahadis* of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). This is something foreign and alien to Islam which has been forcibly thrust into the edifice of the *Deen* of Allah. But when these critics are asked to declare the genesis and origin from which *Tasawwuf* as a creed or nomenclature has been derived they seem to be at their loggerheads and fail to agree on a unanimous definition of the word Tasawwuf and its implications with the result that it becomes wellnigh impossible as to which of versions presented by these men ought to be accepted or rejected or to reject them all and leave the field to take its own course. This state of affairs compels one to conclude that none of them need to be trusted as genuine exponent of *Tasawwuf*, and all the objections in this respect should be set aside as inappropriate and untenable! That is the safest course to avoid any clash of opinions. But this might be taken as an attempt to avade the issue and the Scholars of *Tasawwuf* being regarded themselves as ill-versed in their creed of belief. Therefore we propose to collate the objections or pieces of criticism against common concept of *Tasawwuf* and try to present the answers which may satisfy the critics themselves or at least the neutral observers and thinkers.

A class of the objectors (whom we regard as critics and deal with them as such) in which category, the learned scholars of the Orientalists are also a part, are of the opinion that treasure house (in the sense of origin or source) of the *Tasawwuf* is the Mythology of Hindu religion (!) and they gleefully relate in their research theses that like the practices of Hindu sages, the practices like *Chilla* exaction, constancy in adoption of certain verbal rituals and practical modes of physical concentration (commonly known as *Riyazat* in *Tasawwuf* Terminology) and the like rehearsals among the Hindu jogies and sadhus all have been borrowed from Hindu sources and introduced in the *Tasawwuf* creed among Muslim Mystics! The spearhead of this group of Hindu admirers is the well known orientalist named Horton and his co-thinkers Blochet and Massignon. They are authors of voluminous books and are considered among the great research scholars of Oriental Literatures of Islam and other religions. There seems to be no apparent reason for their intrusion in this specific religious theme of *Taswawwuf* which basically had no charm and utility for them or their venture of enquiry in this almost exclusive religious practical creed as against the academic fascination which other non-practical materialistic institutions provide for their comfortable easy-chair fields of enquiry. The result is that their findings prove none other than exercise in futility. Are not these research scholars aware that the greatest leader and emancipator of mankind who was also the greatest religious teacher of all times Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa Sallel Laho Alaihe Wa sallam had himself chosen this special spiritual exercise known as "*Chillah Kashi*" in the cave of Hira before his Prophethood. It can be defined as the period or time spent in retirement in some cell either in a hill cave or *Khanqah* (monastery) etc. for spiritual specialisation, in complete and uninterrupted seclusion. There are numerious verses in the Holy Quran and the *Ahadis* which inspire and

encourage the Muslim seekers of peace of heart among whom the Soofis are in the vanguard willingly subjecting themselves (as they still do) to this arduous spiritual exercise and attain peace and purity of heart and mind. This special spiritual Movement of Tasawwuf with all its glory was in the knowledge of the concerned sectors of the Arab Peninsula entirely through there own endeavours without the least involvement of Hindu Wedaant (A philosophical and theological system of the Hindus). The Arabs of that time had no glimpse of the Hindu culture and its intricate complex system. Therefore the insinuation of the Islamic *Tasawwuf* as having been influenced or emulated by Hindu Theology is as ridiculous as it is baseless and unfounded. The Hinduistic spiritual exercises and those under the Islamic *Tasawwuf* are poles apart with practically nothing common in between.

The other sector of objectors or critics against the Islamic *Tasawwuf* does not hesitate to implicate this purely spiritual branch of knowledge and worship as having its origin in the yoga Philosophy of Buddhism. This farfetched discursive insinuation is propounded by well known Orientalists headed by Goldziher and O' Leary who never get tired to propagate that the cult of worldlessness or adherence of mundane pleasures is in emulation of the Buddhist philosophy of self-abnegation of which the yoga exercises are an integral part. They draw a parallel between the abdication of royal comforts by Gotam Budh and his retirement in the secluded life without any link with the worldly life in search of Nirvan or spiritual Emancipation and the attitude or the pattern of life adopted by the Soofi saints who seek cave seclusion or the monastic unconcern with the humdrum of mundane pleasures. But while spending their mental energy in the fruitless equation of Buddhism and Islamic spiritualism (*Tasawwuf*) they forgot to remember that Gotam Budh was a disbeliever in the

Existence of Almighty Allah and that the entire fabric of Islamic teachings of which the *Tasawwuf* is a potent factor revolves round the belief in the Existence of the Omnipotent Lord Creator of the universe, Allah. According to Gotam Budh the Self or Ego of the man is the chief motivator and propeller of human desires and their attainment in the desired form while in juxtaposition to this the Human Self which the Holy Qur'an calls as '*Nafs*' is the prime instigator to evil unless mercifully checked and protected by Almighty Allah. The grandiose summation of the Holy Qur'an under the same Verse mentions '*Nafs*' of human being, as prone to evil doing if left unchecked and unbridled (ref. Verse of Surah Yusuf). The Islamic Tasawwuf seeks and leads to communion with Almighty Allah while Buddhist search for Nirvan detracts from the very Existence of the Same Almighty Allah.

Some people are of the opinion that the Islamic *Tasawwuf* is the reflexive image of the mirror of Iranian philosophy of Good and Evil (Khair o Sharr). Arabs, by and large, before the emergence of Islam, were in a way, inferior to Iranians, especially in the fields of art culture and knowledge. In fact these treasures of human welfare were brought in the Arabian Peninsula when on the advent of Islam the two healthy and energetic nations intermingled and exchanged their 'goods' with one another. Before this the Arabs had nothing to offer to Iran and its people. This factor alone repudiates the dubious conclusion that he Islamic *Tasawwuf* is the reflexion of the Iranian Mirror. This maybe accepted as a conditional truth if the maxim alludes to events and circumstances of the pre-Islamic Era. But our focal point of consideration is the Isalmic *Tasawwuf* which outshoned and outdistanced every belief and practice which came as a challenge to Islamic teachings of morality and moral well being of the human society. Not a single student of history can dare say that the

people of Iran ever influenced the Arab *Musalmans* in the fields of religious, cultural and educational betterment over and above what the Arab enthusiasts themselves achieved in these and other allied and independents subjects on the contrary these were the people of Iran who were influenced and felt themselves under the impact of Islamic revolution which had catapulted the cultural and social values of almost all the neighbouring and distant countries and familiarised them with the Islamic values and traditions. The result, in essence of this commingling was that the people who embraced Islam found themselves inextricably linked with the Islamic Ideology with all its attendant blessings and enlightenments. It can therefore, be asked what else was left which the Arabs needed to enrich their modes of behaviour more particularly in the field of spiritual attainments to which the Iranians as a nation were inclined more than any other neighbouring country. The creed of *Tasawwuf* was (still remains) one such subject which originated, developed and prospered through its own resources which Islam as the last and most accomplished religion under the guidance and supervision of the Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa Sallal Laho Alaihe Wa Sallam who himself drew inspiration from Divine Revelations which descended upon him from Almighty Allah keeping him abreast of all the paraphernalia then needed and for all the time to come till the world lasts.

Viewed in the above perspective, the great scholar-cum-orientalist Professor Brown is absolutely wrong in saying that the Arabs were influenced by the Iranian perceptions particularly in the field of spiritualism of which the Tasawwuf is the most glaring exhibition. A few similarity is bound to occur in the methodology of the same pursuit, but this does not mean that the Islamic *Tasawwuf* as an entity thrived on the Iranian traditions.

Another band of objectors is of the view that the Islamic *Tasawwuf* has been greatly and deeply influenced by the Christian *Tasawwuf* or Monasticism and in support of this hypothesis they say that there has been mutual cooperation and a kind of rapprochement or reconciliation between the followers of the two religions since a long time past in spite of the fact that the Arabs were the race of primitive origin and culturally less advanced in the pre-Islamic Era, chronologically known as *'Ayyam-e-Jahiliyah* (Era of Ignorance) than their compatriots the Christians who were well-civilised and educated at that time. This closeness between the Arabs and the Christians prompted the inquisitive Arabs to benefit themselves with the knowledge and enlightenments from their colleagues especially in the sector of spiritualism or *Tasawwuf* and incorporated this knowledge in their own beliefs and practices. This was possibly so in the Pre-Islamic Era when the Arabs lacked even the basics of the civilised society. But we are concerned with the *Tasawwuf* which took its genesis and development under aegis of Islamic teachings which shook the foundations of all culture and knowledge which did not conform to the Divine Principles of Existence promulgated by Islam based on the Revelations from Almighty Allah. This new trend in the first instance revolutionised the patterns of thoughts and behaviour of t he primitive Arabs who in turn transmitted this Divine Knowledge to the neighbouring communities, thus asserting the supremacy of Islam over all other existing religions and their followers (as also the non-believers who formed an estimable numbers as members of human fraternity!). It was perhaps for the first time in the history of mankind that Islam under the guidance of Divine Revelations informed the humanity as a congregational whole that this worldly life of frailties and frolics is not the end-all and be-all of the human life on earth and the real life which is eternal and conclusive will begin after the end

of this worldly transitory stay. The Quranic assertion in this behalf is both forthright and convincing at the same time.

اعلموا انما الحيوة الدنيا لعب ولهو و زينة وتفاخر بينكم وتكاثر فی الاموال والاولاد كمثل غيث اعجب الكفار نباته ثم يهيج فترئه مصفرا ثم يكون حطاما و فی الآخرة عذاب شديدٌ و مغفرة من الله ورضوان وما الحيوة الدنيا الامتاع الغرور

Translation: Know you (O Mankind) that the life of this world is only play and idle talk, and pageantry and boasting among you, and rivalry in respect of wealth and children; as the likeness of vegitation after rain, where of the growth is pleasing to growers and cultivators, but afterward it dries up and you see it turning yellow, then it becomes straw. And in the Hereafter there is grievous punishment, and (also) forgiveness from Allah and His good pleasure, whereas the life of the world is but matter of illusion.

(Surah Al-Hadeed: Verse, 20)

In this connection a *Hadis* of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) containing a grim warning may also be taken notice of with an attentive perception.

ان مما اخاف عليكم من بعدی ما يفتح عليكم من زهرة الدنيا وزينتها (بخاری، مسلم)

"What I fear about you after me is that the doors of embellishment and mundane success shall be flung open before (for) you" (Bukhari and Muslim).

It is a matter of conscious reflection that for an Ummah who possesses its own Holy Scripture (Al-Qur'an) which, among other fundamental principles of successful life, contains thought-provoking and light-bearing

enunciations, bringing forth the effective features of selfless devotion to Almighty Allah (Zuhd) and righteousness (Taqwa), why at all should the followers of Islam look to others who are themselves bereft of such glorious preaching, for giving them guidance for a successful life in the Presence of Almighty Allah? The monastics of Christianity are themselves at their wit's end how to eke an existence in the world with the scanty paraphernalia of survival compared to the praiseworthy possession of guidance gifted to them in measureless quantum by their own ever generous religion Islam which removes every obstacle from their path and provides them with fear-free straight and clean path which will bring them additional heavenly rewards in the Hereafter. Likewise there are many other Divinely revealed guiding Verses in the Holy Qur'an urging its adherents to seek Pleasures of Allah, making them independent of any extraneous advices in this behalf. At one place it is said in the Holy Qur'an.

واذكر ربك في نفسك تضرعا و خفية ودون الجهر من القول بالغدو والاصال

ولا تكن من الغافلين (الاعراف ٢٠٥)

Translation: And you Prophet! remember your Lord within yourself and with awe and with a soft and low voice at morn and evening and be not of the neglectful. (Al-Aaraaf: Verse, 205)

At another place it is said:

يايها الذين امنوا اذكروا الله كثيرا وسبحوه بكرة واصلا

Translation: 'O you who Believe! Remember Allah with much remembrance and glorify him early morning and evening. (Al-Ahzab: Verses, 41-42)

The other Verse of the Holy Qur'an refreshes and envigorates the mind and soul of the *Momin*:

فاذكروني اذكر كم واشكروالي ولاتكفرون (البقرة ١٥٢)

Transation: You remember Me, I shall remember you, offer thanks unto Me and Be not ungrateful to Me. (Al-Baqarah: Verse, 152)

When such reassuring and heart pleasing Verses are available in the Holy Qur'an containing rewards of Remembering Allah's Bounties, then, should we Muslims hanker about others for spiritual energizers? We are self sufficient in this respect and much in a position to supplement spiritual resources of others.

Among the Orientalists who were initially striving sanelessly to defame and denounce Islamic Tasawwuf as a borrowed or pirated commodity from other systems, later on their honest reassessment and review discovered the genuineness and unadulterated amalgam of other Soofi'istic clans, boldly retraced their earlier short sighted statement and affirmed the real Divine Inspired Doctrine of Soofi'ism named 'Tasawwuf' as self-contained and perfect in all respects not only to sustain itself but also being in a position to guide honest truth seekers either as individuals or in groups as members of spiritual institutions. The most glaring example in this behalf is that Dr. Nicholson who in his earlier phase of study and research was one of the detractors of Islamic Tasawwuf later when be probed further and deeper came to the conclusion that Islamic Tasawwuf was harshly and unjustifiably subjected to biased parochial minded treatment by the so-called Western doctrinarians who were in themselves inept and unsuited to undertake this delicate and deepseated philosophy of Islamic Tasawwuf as the aim and target of their criticism. That same Nicholson who in the past branded Tasawwuf as a gifted presentation of Christianity now in his new discovery while discussing the genre of Tasawwuf in general in his book 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics admitted that uncalled -- for and erroneous conclusions on

the Initiation and Devleopment of Islamic Tasawwuf were leveled by raw and untutored philosophers! This was indeed harsh and unjustified he goes on to say that it was inadmissible to brand Islamic Tasawwuf as something derived borrowed and imported from any foreign and alien land and transplanted it on Arabian soil. On the contrary there was a group of devout Muslims who had dedicated themselves from the very beginning to the study and understanding of the Holy Quran and Hadis as sources of strength and development of Islam in their native of Arabia and later in the adjoining and distant countries, as this new and last Religion of Allah to take roots and grow in those territories.

The great scholars of Tasawwuf have laid down in their authentic Books that for a Soofi it is incumbent that he should study and adhere to the injunctions of the Holy Quran and the Hadis as the first imperative for the consolidation and propagation of Islamic teachings and achieving success in that mission. The following statement of Hazrat Junaid Baghdadi is enough to repudiate and remove every kind of doubts and misgivings in this behalf. He says:

"This pathway (of rectitude) can come in the grip of only that person in whose right hand is the Holy Quran and the Hadis of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) in his other hand and he resolves to proceed ahead on this path under the beacon light of guidance of both, so that he avoids the pitfalls and protects himself from falling in the ditches and caves coming in his way nor does he commit any uncalled for forbidden innovations known as 'bid' at in the shariat parlance.

Shaikh Abu Bakr Tamistani says about the Tasawwuf:

الطريق واضح والكتاب والسنة قائم بين اظهرنا

"The Pathway is wide open and we have the (Divine) Book and Traditions (Sunnat) before us (for guidance)"

Hazrat Shah Kalimullah Dehlavi writes in one of his letters to his murid:

"O Brother! If you want to have a measure of prominence of the Darvishes in their march on the path of Shariat, then keep an eye on how they have obeyed the commands of Shariat as Shariat alone is the Touchstone for measuring the standard of success in that endeavour."

The Soofi leaders themselves acted on the commands and principles, enunciated in the Quran and the Sunnah and persuaded their murids (disciples) to follow the same dictates steadfastly and with an unflinching loyalty.

Apart from the abovementioned precepts as practiced by great stalwarts of Soofi'ism in the past, it will be all the more advisable and worth reflecting the great books of Tasawwuf namely *Quwatul Qulub*, '*Risala Qushairiyah*,' 'Kashful Mahjoob,' Awariful Ma'aarif,' 'Fawaidul Fawad etc. one will find on every page of these great enlightening books the persuasive advices to study and reflect upon the contents of these books. If in spite of these glaring blissful guidance one chooses to stick to his obstinate doctrine of anti-soffi'ism, the best remedy is to leave him alone!

SECOND OBJECTION: The objectors and critics also say that *Tasawwuf* is the code of belief of the ignorant and illiterate persons who do not have the acumen of understanding the concept of *Tasawwuf* and they blindly act upon what is presented to them as norms of Islamic teachings in this regard. Such is not the way of the really literate and the knowledgeable persons, not only that they are not fascinated by this doctrine they also remain impervious to these teachings in spite of all inducements.

The critics also assert time and again that those who are really educated and have acquired some insight in this field they keep themselves aloof and do not even pass by the alleys of this doctrine. This is not the whole truth nor the accusation worth any extraordinary consideraion! The allegation or accusation, if any thing, it only betrays the lack of insight of these self-deceiving critics and the sad fact is that their knowledge and information in this direction has not done them any service but has further plunged them in the abyss of darkness!

The great mystic stalwarts were the most learned scholars of their respective ages and well-versed in all the branches of knowledge then extant; they were also the exponents and great practitioner of spiritual precepts which had come down to them from their own mystic guides as their mentors and teachers, thus maintaining the chain of spiritual attainments from generation to generation some of these great mystic leaders who have been acknowledged as the greatest exponents of *Tasawwuf* of their time and even beyond maybe reverently mentioned here simply to let the unwary self-deceiving nominal scholars realize where they stand!

Hazrat Syedena Ghousul Azam, Hazrat Khawaja Moinul Haq Wal Deen Ajmeri, Hazrat Shahabuddin Suhrawardy, Ghousul Alamin Shaikhul Islam Hazrat Bahaul Haq Wal Deen Zakarya Multani *Hazrat Bahauddin* Naqshband, Hazrat Mujaddid Alf Sani (May Allah be please with them all) were not only the ruling Monarchs of the Realm of *Faqr* (self assumed richlessness or poverlty) and Darveshi (unworldliness and devoid of ostentation) but were also crown wearers of the kingdom of knowledge and Moral Excellence. Is there any person, so audacious and yet so pretentious, who can blame these great august personalities or their successors as being ignorant and

illiterate and unwise followers of mystic practices. The books of these sanctimonious personalities still serve as beacon lights for all those who crave for rich spiritual guidance and worldy knowledge in one pack!

Hazrat Faridud Din Masood Ganjshakar used to say that often times the ignorant becomes a victim of the satanic inducements and willingly submits himself as an instrument in the hands of Devil (Shaitan) and fails to judge between the right and the wrong, good and evil, the real and the fake, the genuine and the mirage. He can not correctly diagnose the symptoms of the disease of the heart and prescribe the effective medicines for the cure of the deepseated ailment!

Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya has laid down the following prerequisites for an eligible qualified *Piro Murshid* in the field of *Tasawwuf*.

"The *Pir* should be of this Calibre that he possesses the knowledge of *Shariat*, *Tariquat* (Mystic aspect of *Shariat*) and Haqiqat (Absolute Reality and the commandment flowing and emerging from that Reality, If he fulfils this condition then he will never ask his disciples and the people at large to do a thing which is impermissible. Hazrat Nizamuddin himself followed this precept in full earnestness. He never appointed a person as a Khalifah (mystic representative for a specified sect or population), unless he was a qualified Aalim (religious scholar).

Hazrat Yahya Mu'aaz Razi prescribed following principles to be observed by a person who wished to join the Soofis clan.

اجتنب صحبة ثلاثة اصناف من الناس العلماء الغافلين والفقراء المداهنين والمتصوفة الجاهلين (كشف المحجوب)

"Avoid keeping company with three kinds of persons, (1) the nominal educated ones who are ignorant (of what they have learnt), (2) the Dervish or hermit who deceives the people by wearing false appearances and (3) the Soofis who are illiterate or ignorant of the etiquettes or decorum expected of the Soofis."

Allama Ibne Jozi who is a noted critic of the Soofis found himself compelled to admit.

وما كان المتقدمون فى التصوف الاروسا فى القرآن والفقه والحديث والتفسير

(Soofis of the earlier era used to be the Imam -- leaders -- in the knowledges of Qur'an, Fiqh, Hadis and Tafsir.")

THIRD OBJECTION: The Soofis had disassociated themselves with the mundane affairs of the world in emulation of what the Christians monastics had done before the advent of Islam and they had denied to themselves the boons and pleasing things which Almighty Allah has created for his servants. This was an open defiance of the Hadis which has expressly condemned *Rohbaniyat* (monasticism) in these words.

لارهبانية فى الاسلام

There is no *Rohbaniyat* in Islam (abstinence from worldy affairs.

It is true that the Soofis in the initial phase of the admittance in the clans of Soofi'ism, and in order to train themselves in this arduous and exerting creed which demands purity of heart and mind together with the cleanness of habits and behaviour as the essential prerequisites of this code of life, it is imperative that the candidate in this field must strive to curtail and minimize the spheres of his ultra-sufi'istic activities so that when he concentrates his attention in the observance of prescribed

rituals and practices his mind and heart may not get distracted. Any distraction of mind at any time in the observance of rigid soofi'istic commands will retard and annual the practices in process at that time. Therefore, there is no other via media to train the heart and mind to be as less desirous and solicitous of worldy pleasure as it is humanly possible! As the practice in mystic exercises advances the desire and attraction of mundane delights become less and less in number and quantity. At some stage, the perfection in observance of mystic rules and requirements become norms of the new responsibilities, the Soofi does not feel any hindrance by getting rid of worldly pleasures and proceeds with greater zeal and enthusiasm in holding aloft the banner of Islamic crusades to reform the society and invite the new entrants in the Islamic fold by presenting himself as a true Islamic personality as specimen for the new comers to emulate him. It is therefore of paramount obligation that the person who offers himself as the crusader and flag bearer of Islamic ideology not alone within the geographical bounds of his own country but also different countries and continents must possess stout heart and mind, strengthened by the Islamic faith and ideology which cannot be carried away by temptations and allurements, nor even subdued or deviated from his mission under pressures of threats, challenges and warnings against his life and his meagre belongings.

It is a sad commentary on our present state of affairs that the preachers, barring exceptions, when they go out to breach the sanctified code of Islamic life to non-Muslims or co-Muslims who have no opportunity of learning and practising Islam-based way of life, they remain impervious to what is poured in their ears as the preaching does not carry the true colours and fragrance of Islam because the preachers are themselves devoid of these precious possessions.

As against this, when the Soofi preachers enter the world stage to propagate Islam among aliens who are not yet acquainted with the true Islamic life as foreigners or even as Muslims by Faith they have remained without contact of the preachers of Islam or being unimpressed by their dry manner of sermonizing as a mere formality without their own hearts having the lustre of golden principles of Islam which they so glibly preach!

This brings us back to our thesis that for being true and honest preachers, only Soofis with a background of solid Islamic learning and a life having a crusader's zeal disenchanted by materialistic embellishment are qualified and entitled to successfully preaching true Islam among alien person and uninitiated co-believers.

For the Christians *Rohbaniyat* or monastic way of life is the motto and aim of life with total and perennial abstinence from the worldly delights as chief gateway to attain Redemption and Deliverance from sinful existence. But before the revered Soofis there is no such abhorrence of materialistic life. What the great Soofis have forbidden and forsaken is the disbalanced and abnormally extravagant mode of life which demolishes the edifice of morally planned life. A balanced equitable life with the guaranteed minimum needs which promise bare sustenance is what a genuine Soofi demands, no more and no less! The Soofis solemnised marriages, reared children, cultivated lands and transacted business deals etc. but none of these avocations deterred and prevented them from a truly balanced, Islamic life in exact conformity of the Quranic perception

رجال لا تلهيهم تجارة ولا بيع عن ذكر الله

'These are the true believing *Musalmans* whom the merchandise, the business transaction cause no negligence

in the Remembrance of Almighty Allah.' (Al-Nur: Verse,37). By the way, just listen what the great sage and saint Hazrat Mahboob Elahi has said in his famous book *Fawaidul Fawad.*

"Abandonment of the world (wordly life) does not mean that a person should cast off all his clothes, becomes naked and only ties a loins cloth round mid part of the body (to hide the shame) and sits at home, but in our view the desertion of worldly life means that one should put on the formal dress eat and drink what is available, but he should abstain from the avarice of amassing wealth and make no niche in his heart for the same."

FOURTH OBJECTION: This objection is purely of an academic and sentimental nature without any philosophical or logical argument in its support. This is raised by the members of a neo-modernist group of writers and agitators who in their zest for being recognised as modern thinkers and intellectuals in spite of their rawness in education and half baked training or experience in a field in which they have not, as yet, but even the first step out of the two. They are mere watchers from a distance drawing conclusions and inspiration as their short-sighted observation of Soofi'istic phenomena are being enacted before them. They should have been left alone, but because they have succeeded in securing place in the biased books and journals of their choice, their remaining unchallenged and unresponded would mean that their antagonists are defenceless. In their own interest it is thought incumbent that a befitting reply must be presented to their so-called objection in question. The gist of their accusation against the Islamic *Tasawwuf* is that it is a kind of *intoxicant* opium which has paralysed or made insensate the acting organs of the *Millat* with the result that a sizeable sector of the Ummah has been addicted under its charm which has made them spineless

and inactive in the march of civilisation and other enlightenments of the modern times. As a remedy against this malady they suggest that zestful youths of the Millat should rise against this opium addicted activity and throw off the sweet coated poisonous shackles and fetters of this *Tasawwuf* and come in the open in defence of the pure religion without the adulteration of *Tasawwuf*!

It is an irony that these critics have themselves committed the same offence which they are attributing against their opponents, and it is that they are of the view that the pure and unadulterated concept of Islam is that brand which is shorn and torn of the opium-charmed *Tasawwuf*. The allegation of treating *Tasawwuf* as an intoxicating agent is baseless and far from truth. In fact, the Reality lies the otherway about, and it is that instead of inactivating and paralysing the working organs of Islam, the *Tasawwuf* has been instrumental in infusing a new life and vigour in the body of the Divine ordained Islam. The exponents of *Tasawwuf* under age long vibrant participation in the genuine Movement of *Tasawwuf* have demonstrated that it is only on account of this *Tasawwuf* that the world has been taught what Real Islam is comprising the best of both the worlds, not one at the cost of the other. We have shown in the foregoing passages that *Tasawwuf* is in itself a perfect code of life which Islam presents before the world and aspires for. It is neither too much inclined towards this (mundane) world nor going all out for the pleasures of the other (spiritual) world. Glimpses of the nature of *Tasawwuf* can be recalled in reply to previous objections, particularly the detailed answer to objection three. In order to see the real shining visage of Islam under the impact of this much maligned concept of *Tasawwuf*, one must, in the first instance remove the blinkers of prejudice from his eyes so that he can see for himself what tremendous electrified revolution

has been set in motion in almost all sectors of practical Islam, not only in the daytime activities but also have the nights of these spiritually inspired *Momin* activists spent in the Remembrance of Allah and weeping and crying with uncessant tears praying for the glory and splendour of Islam and its genuine followers. The manifestations of this Islamic revival is visible in almost all the continents where Islam has emplanted its banners. But the most prominent examples of Islamic glory can be found in the spiritual history of this Indo-Pakistan subcontinent which were the outstanding results at the hands of the great saints who came here from distant places of the Middle East and settled down at different places which were strewn and overshadowed by idol worship and its attendant social debauchery and moral bankruptcy parading as the order of the day! It was in these dismal and heartaching circumstances that a *Darvaish* of Sajistan in the Middle East abandons his native land along with all the paraphernalia of his life of ease and comforts purely for the sake and love of Islam to preach it in alien lands of India. This was at a time and place where the people as idol worshippers were not favourably inclined to treat him as an honourable guest and where the ruling prince was not only a staunch Hindu idol worshiper but also an open enemy of Islam and its followers. The *Darvaish* whom the world later came to know as the Real Helper of the Deen was none other than Hazrat Khwaja Moinuddin Chisty Ajmeri who boldly suffered and faced the cruel stiff opposition from the tyrant monarch Prithviraj and his henchmen. The situation would have broken the back of even the hardest resister but the Soofi defender of Islam did not flinch and blunted all menacing designs in verbal challenges and open demonstration of occult and magic jugglery till at last the entire arsenal of destructive weapons proved in vain and insufficient to withstand any further opposition. The abject unconditional surrender of the opponents paved the way for

the establishment of Islam on Indian soil first in the capital city of Ajmer in the central India and then all over the sub-continent of India. This marvellous achievement was accomplished by the *Darvaish* along with the band of followers who was the staunch believer and practitioner of Islamic *Tasawwuf*! Could it still be insisted that Tasawwuf as a way of spiritual force in the Islamic Ideology was a mere praralyser of human impulses of vigour and vitality as is believed as an after effect of swallowing pills of the opium and its sister drugs! Had the emerging flow of stout hearted Soofis continued in that land for some time more, the scenario of ideological manifestation of the subcontinent would have been more heart pleasing and social inspiring than it actually turned out to be!

Perhaps the ease loving critics and objectors of *Tasawwuf* are not aware that at a most critical and perilous time in the history of Islam when Changhiaz Khan, the world's cruellest tyrant who had ravaged and destroyed the then most cultured and civilised city on earth namely Baghdad, leaving almost no trace of its glory and splendour behind. Who was that inspiring an revitalising personality who came forward to rebuild and reinforce the Islamic ideology at this most critical juncture when dismay and despondency had sapped every bit of physical power and mental vitality and there remained no hope of Islamic revival at least in the foreseeable future? It was none other than an individual from among the pious group of Soofis belonging to chain of Qadriya of Khurasan who boldly came forward, under Divine Inspiration, to meet and challenge Tagudar Khan the son of Halaku Khan who was the ruling monarch at that time. When that Soofi *Darvaish* arrived at the gate of the palace, Tagudar Khan was returning from a hunting expedition. Finding a mendicant looking *Darvaish* at the gate he jokingly and tauntingly questioned the waiting *Darvaish* in these humiliating words." O *Darvaish*!

Are the hairs in your beard better or the hairs of my dog's tail? This nonsensical and outrageously insulting question did not infuriate the *Darvaish*! Much against what the Mughal Prince anticipated the Darvaish remained in his quiet normal self. He calmly and softly replied, "If I could attain the pleasure and trust of my Lord Creator by my devoted loyal obedience and service to him then the hairs of my beard are better; otherwise the hairs of your dog's tail are better who remains faithful to you and renders service to you even when you go out on your hunting expedition! The Mughal monarch was surprisingly impressed by this unexpected and truthfully brave answer of the *Darvaish*. He offered to make him his guest for somedays. Obviously Tagudar Khan could not believe his ears and was surprised at the forthright and straight forward honest answer which could not come except from the heart and mind of the person who possessed extraordinary moral and spiritual power even at the face of the dreaded monach! He was convinced of the honesty and sagacity of the *Darvaish* and the teaching of Islam which places the Fear and Pleasure of Almighty Allah above any and everything or person in the world. He is reported to have secretly embraced Islam but did not disclose it for the fear of revolt by his men who were known for their apathy and dislike of Islam. He thought it advisable to wait for sometime during which he would persuade his comrades for the acceptance of Islam. He begged the *Darvaish* to return and resume his Mission. During the life of the *Darvaish* Tagudar did not succeed in his persuasive endeavours. However the *Darvaish* willed his son to go to Tagudar Khan and remind him of his promise. When the son of the *Darvaish* met Tagudar Khan he felt sorry that he could not succeed in persuading a certain commandar of the army who had his his own peculiar condition of acceptance of Islam and it was that being a military man who had spent all his age in fighting opponents on the battlefields he was not well-

versed in the logics and philosophy of the religion". He would gladly embrace Islam if his opponent grappled and wrestled with his *Pahlwan* (wrestler) in an open bout which will leave no doubt about the result of combat! Tagudar Khan on seeing the physical difference between the official wrestler and the *Darvaish* (the son) and finding that there was no match of physical power, he persuade the army commander to withdraw his unfair condition. But the Darvaish had his faith in the vitality and strength of Someone Else. He accepted the challenge and desired to have a bout between the two rivals! Accordingly the bout was fixed and a large number of spectators assembled to witness the wrestling bout between an elephant like wrestler on one side and a weak physiqued Darvaish on the other. The wrestler wanted for some wrestling tricks by the Darvaish which he would outbid in a flash! While the wrestler was thus planning his stratagem, the Darvaish moved forward with a lightning force and struck a slap (stroke) on the head of the wrestler which gushed his head and the wrestler felt himself unable to fight the bout. The commander rushed forth from his seat and kissed the hand of the Darvaish who possessed superhuman power as an endowment from Almighty Allah. The commander embraced Islam as he has promised as a precondition before the bout. Seeing all this happy and pleasing spectacle, Tagudar Khan gladly announced his acceptance of Islam which he had kept secret, so far and adopted the name of Ahmad for himself.

There was a cousin of Halaku Khan whose name was Barkah, he also embraced Islam at the persuasion and appreciation of the ennobling character of Hazrat Shaikh Shamsudin Bakhori, thus converting and captivating the tyrants and oppressors of the family of Changhiz Khan and Helaku Khan and making the descendants of the one time detractors and destroyers of the Islamic traditions in their

lands of occupation, as the supporters and benefactors of those very traditions of Islam which flourished and prospered in that region and beyond. The conquest of Constantinople is the most shining event of the rise and expansion of Islamic expeditions which opened to gateway of Islamic influence in those parts of Europe which were citadels and nurseries of Christian Trinity. Very few people know that it was at the exhortation and inducement of a Soofi enthusiast Hazrat Aaqa Shamsuddin who was the *Murshad* of Sultan Muhammad. This historical feat was accomplished at the hands of the twenty two aged sultan who was inspired and encouraged by the glad-tidings of ensuring success by his *Murshid* which at last came true and Constantinople became the nerve Centre of future Islamic revolution in that region.

Let us see what others among the scholars and intellectuals etc. have to say about the great Soofis of Islam. An excerpt from the book of Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami throws light on the subject thus.

"When the Orientalists of Europe study the History of Islam they are surprised beyond expectation that the political decline of the *Musalman* warriors and expeditionists in different places and at different times caused tremendous ravages in the social, political and intellectual sectors etc. but the spirit of Islamic devotion and the Religious systems were never multilated or tarnished beyond recognition! Whatever transformations took place it was to the outer surface of the Islamic polity but deep inside the soul and spirit of Islam remained ever shining and intact. It could never be destroyed. On the other hand, as the great historian Professor Hitti has recorded even at the time of gravest perils perched on the brinks of near annihilation politically even socially, the great religion Islam never suffered setback at its core, and to bewilder all

and sundry, the religious stalwarts of Islam achieved tremendous success in its own sectors of belief and devotion. Another Dutch Scholar Lu ke Guard in an undertone of surprise amounting to disbelief has said to the effect that although politically speaking, Islam underwent grave and repeated setback resulting in unreversible decline, the spiritual Islam remained ever shining like a star in the firmament. (Ref. Tarikh-e-Chisht (Urdu).

Professor Hitti has also referred to a speech delivered by another famous Orientalist H.A.R. Gibb before the committee of the Oxford University, London. In that speech he said:

"In the history of Islam repeated instances occurred in which the cultural aspect of Islam was severely attacked with a view to denounce and wipe it off (as a menace to the development to modern secularist culture) but it could not be subdued (or even tarnished). The main reason for this survival has always been the timely opportune shield of defence provided by the (pristine) Islamic principles exemplified by the Soofis (mystic practitioners of Islam). This provided a force and power as a bulwark against the relentless attacks aimed at uprooting it once and for all, but Islam (as a Divine Ordained Religion) remain unhurt and unscathed, and no earthly power could stand before it."

The scenario is really alarming, while the opponents and enemies of Islam are literally trembling within their inner selves at the irresistible march forward of Islam, we at home are expressing doubts and scepticisms against Islam as victims of inferiority complex before the materialistic secularists within our own spheres. The tremendous impact made by Islam with its pristine glorious ever existing principles in the Election campaigns during the Freedom Movement for the establishment of Pakistan in

the subcontinent, is still fresh in the minds of those who actually participated in the movement or heard it from their parents and elders. This is the recent history of yester years and shall remain unforgotten in the decades and centuries to come!

The modern age by and large, is materialism infested affecting almost every individual in the society every where. Every one is seen running headlong in the pursuit of material pleasure and delights, vieing with one another in the mad pursuit of the so-called honour and status in all conceivable sectors, neglecting and forgetting what are the moral and conscientious values and how mercilessly these very sources and media of survival are being trampelled underfoot without least regard where this mad race of this vainglorious brandishments will lead to! How the fair visage of spiritualism is being subjected to demure behaviour and defacement! If the rot is not stemmed right now, with all earnestness and conscientiousness, the future of the *Millat* cannot be guaranteed. False hopes are nothing but self deception. The *Millat* or *Ummah* as a compact unified entity must rise from its deep sonorous but fake slumber and concentrate to make amends before it is too late where tears and fears of ignominy will not help in the least but will work as fuel to the fire!

The best and most effective panacea can be applied to replenish the dying sources of survival is that the life achievements in all sectors of the great mystic legends should be presented before the negligent slumberous masses so that their inert dozing capabilities in spiritual and physical spheres maybe aroused to action and mobilization. The lives and achievements of the great reverend Auliya Allah which the Soofis really are, will serve as reflective mirrors in which the *Millat* or *Ummah* not only will discern the noble memorable deeds of these grand personalities but

will also be roused to action in formulating its own recipes of revival and be tempted to march along the same roads of glory on which our grand spiritual forefathers have traversed and achieved whatever they wished.

This consciousness of my duty and responsibility for the amelioration of the *Ummah* in general and rousing the conscience and will power of the youth which indeed are he reservoirs and fountain heads of the future blessings, the life achievements of the Great Saint of Hajver now in communion with the Almighty with his eternal seat of rest at Lahore maybe presented as a homage and Finale to this humble prsentation as an Introduction to his great unique Book, *Kashful Mahjoob*, which is unquestionably one of the finest compendia of the *Tasawwuf* or Islamic Mysticism.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF HAZRAT DATA GUNJ BAKHISH

The name of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh is Ali' his kunniyat (Family name) is Abu Hasan and his birth place is the well known populous city Ghazni which was also the native town of the great king Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi, who is popularly nicknamed as *But Shikan* (Idol Breaker). Ghazni had two localities (Muhalla) one of them was Jalab and the other was known Hajver. It is said in one locality was settled the family of his own grand parents and the other was the abode of his grand maternal parents. The early years of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh were spent in Jalab while some period of that age was spent at Hajver. That is the reason of his being related to these places is referred to

as Jallabi as well as Hajveri by his biographers. But the majority of writers refer to him as Hajveri while some mention with both localities *Jallabi summa Hajveri*. In his book '*Khshful Mahjoob* he has himself written his name as. Ali bin Usman bin Ali *Aljalabi summa Alhajveri*.

FAMILY LINEAGE. His biographers have recorded his family Lineage (*silsila-e-nasab*) as under: (Hazrat) Ali (Hajveri) bin Usman bin Ali bin Abdur Rahman bin Shuja'a bin Abul Hasan Ali bin Hasan Asghar bin Zaid bin (Hazrat Imam) Hasan bin (Imamul Auliya) Hazrat Ali ibne Abu Talib.

This shows that he was Hashimi Syed a well as Hanafi.

HIS FAMILY: The family home of Hazrat Data Gunj Gakhsh was the central place of homage and respect by his devotees and admirers as well as his family members. His other was a lady of great devotion and attachment to religious worship and sympathetic attention for the betterment and welfare of the needy and the illness stricken. She belonged to Hussaini Syed Lineage, which in a sense meant, that she possessed the venturous spirit of the Hussaini perfectionism and the Hasani embellishment at one and the same time. His maternal uncle was reputed and respected as title bearer of "*Tajul Auliya*". It is said that when Prince Dara Shikoh in the company of the Emperor father Shah Jahan went for an excursion visit to Afghanistan he visited and paid homage at the mazar of Hazrat *Tajul Auliya* during his jouney in that country, and enriched himself with the spiritual blessings and other assurances in his ventures and expeditions. But time for display of those rare qualities never arose as history and fortunes had their own secret plans and the expectations of gracing the throne of Mughal Empire fell short of achievement to Prince Dara Shikoh! Adjacent to the Mazar

of Hazrat *Tajul Auliya* is the Mazar of his sister and mother of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh.

HIS BIRTH: The biographers and the chroniclers of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh have chosen a path of brevity and choice in describing the details of the family relation of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh, with the result that the thirst and zest for enquiry of more knowledge in this respect remain unquenched and unfulfilled! It is therefore not surprising that even in giving the correct year of birth of the great saint there is no consensus among his biographers and the bulk of description in this behalf hinges round speculations and surmise, which is indeed a matter of regret and a blur of disinterestedness in this important sector of the history and biography of the Islamic greats! The conjectured year of birth of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh has been assumed as year 406 A.H. This was the period of ascendancy of the Ghazni Sultanate. The rising star of sultan Mahmood Ghaznav's longevity was about to sink as the last years of his monarchial enthronement which coincided with the early years of monarchy of his son Sultan Masood Ghaznavi, Hazrat Data Sahib did not evince any interest in recording or giving the exact date of his birth, for reasons best known to him or it was the trend of thinking in those days! Had he done so or at least given a glimpse in this connection, the spectacle of speculation and surmises which is a taboo in matters of historical research, would not have raised its discordant head! Or was it the spirit of self-imposed humility and avoidance of self reputation which the Friends of Allah often exhibited especially in respect of personal glory!

SALIENT EVENTS OF LIFE. From our point of view the central source of probing personal events into the life of Hazrat Data Sahib with its primal focus of attention on mysticism or *Tasawwuf* is his Grand Matchless Book,

universally acclaimed as "*Khshful Mahjoob*", literally meaning "Unveiling the veiled!" From its study as a source of personal biography, some important events of his holy noble life can be extracted for which he has hinted as various places in this book. These suggestive hints indicate that since his early life as a tender aged boy he was fond of acquiring knowledge in the extant branches of knowledge in Philosophy and Theosophy which later came to be known as religious spiritualism or *Tasawwuf*. He had an enlightened craze of paying homage to and acquiring knowledge from the well-known scholars and learned persons in his own native land and its vicinity. Then he crossed over the bounds of his native place and proceeded in travels to Syria, Iraq, Baghdad, Madain, Faras (Persia), Kohistan, Azar Baijan, Tabristan, Khuzistan, Khurasan, Mawara'un Nahr and offered himself as a zealous pupil at the doorsteps of the great and well-known scholars of Islamic learning which inspired and instilled in him the quest of more and more knowledge in these fields. He spared no pains and endeavours in search of knowledge of Islam as a panacea of human ills and beacon light for the misguided and the deviators in this behalf. He cheerfully bore all the travails and tribulations that hurled themselves in the pathways of his quest, without diminishing in any measure the zeal for the knowledge. He himself writes at one place while describing his journeys in search of knowledge.

"Only in Khurasan I paid my personal respects to no less than three hundred religious scholars and acquired knowledge and enriched myself from the treasures and reservoirs of these knowledges and enlightenments". Of the many teachers from whom he sought knowledge, he respectfully and reverentially makes mention of two teachers, one of them is Shaikh Abul Abbas Ahmad bin Muhammad Al-Ashqani and the name of the other reverend

scholar is Shaikh Abul Qasim Ali Gurgani. Professor Nicholson who has been the teacher of Arabic and Persian in the Cambridge University and who has the honour of translating 'Kashful Mahjub' in English, writes about the avidity and quest for knowledge by Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh in these glittering words.

"He undertook journeys to distant Islamic countries from Syria to Turkistan in search of knowledge. He travelled extensively and searching almost every tract of land from Sind to Caspian Sea" (Ref. Introduction, English Translation of Kashful Mahjub)

After the acquisition of Academic knowledge in the fields of his search, he diverted his searching energy in quest of the accomplished spiritual teacher (*Murshid-e-Kamil*). He undertook long and distant arduous travels in search of a personality who could pacify his zest for Islamic learning in domains of his earnest desire and not mere academic superficial knowledge which is enough for novice in this field. Allah the Almighty mercifully guided him, as a reward for his honest, sincere and painstaking travels and the hazards which are the natural concomitants of such like Missions of approach to the august personality. The august personality of his search became his life long companion guide in the special field of knowledge which had become the chief de Mission of Data Sahib's life.

When we study the noble immaculate characters of the accomplished mystic teacher-mentors of Islam we discover that in their pursuit of spiritualism or mysticism one factor is seen as a common denominator in them all without exception that are first they devoted their entire attention in receiving and making themselves proficient in the extant academic knowledges related to the understanding and practising Islam so that they may remain well-versed and

fully competent to stand any test in the performance and expounding Shariat to any brand of people coming to them for guidance and enlightement. After achieving perfection in this field they would enter the more exacting erena of the devotion to the righteous path through the medium of inner or spiritual institution and training under the command of rigorous disciplinarians who subjected their disciples to severe physical and spiritual exercises before the latter were enlisted as eligible candidates for being moulded into spiritual perfectionists as mentor-teachers themselves for other truth seekers. This in simple words means that without the academic knowledge in different sectors of extants priorities the quest for and perfection in spiritual sector is not possible.

The noble name of the *Shaikh-e-Kamil* (Perfect Spiritual guide) of Hazrat Data Sahib is Shaikh Abul Fazl bin Hasan Khattali who was the Shaikh-e-Kamil of the Junaidiya Chain (Silsila). The *Baiyat* (Allegiance or fealty) chain of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh proceeds as under.

Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh was the *murid* (spiritual disciple) of Hazrat Shaikh Abul Fazl bin Hasan Khattali the *Murid* of Shaikh Abul Hasan Husri, the *murid* of Shaikh Abu Bakr Shibli the *murid* of Hazrat Junaid Baghdadi, the *murid* of Shaikh Sari Saqati the *murid* of Hazrat Maruf Karkhi, the *murid* of Hazrat Dawood Taa,ee the *murid* of Hazrat Habib Ajami, the *murid* of Hazrat Khwaja Hasan Basri who had received spiritual blessing from Hazrat Ali Murtaza who had the unique privilege of being brought up and instructed by Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa Salal Laho Alaihe Wa Sallam.

Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh had also received spiritual blessings and guidance in addition to Hazrat Shaikh Abul Fazl Khatali from Hazrat Abu Saeed Abul Khair and

Hazrat Imam Abul Qasim Qushairi who was the author of Magazine (Risala) Qushairiya. These two spritual personalities stand out prominatly among other spiritual guides from whom Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh had blessings in his pursuit of spiritual perfection. About his Shaikh Hazrat Khattali, Data Sahib pays glorious tributes at one place in the '*Kashful Mahjub*' as under:

'He is like the embellishment of *Autads* (who are the rarest persons as members of spiritual functionaries known by this title who are said to the to be just four in the whole world) and leader of the righteous persons as followers of Islam. In the Realm of *Tariqat* I owe allegiance (*Baiyat*) to him. In *Tasawwuf* he (The Shaikh) follows the teachings of Hazrat Junaid, and a reliable and trustworthy *murid* of Hazrat Shaikh Husri."

Hazrat Data Sahib kept himself in constant service and presence of his *Murshid-e-Kamil* for a number of years at a stretch till the last breath of his shaikh, to this extent of servitude and regard as his beloved that when the appointed moment of the *wisal* (departure from the world) arrived, the sacred head of his *Murshid* was in the lap of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh. That was the affectionate regard of a perfect Murshid to his perfect devotee disciple -- a rare tribute indeed?

Fiqahi Sect: The dictionary meaning of the term Fiqh is the knowledge or understanding the science of Islamic Law and Islamic Jurisprudence. The broad concept of the Fiqh is the code of principles or laws adopted and set down by the Great Four Imams Hazrat Imam Abu Hanifah, Hazrat Imam Shafa'ee, Hazrat Imam Malik and Hazrat Imam Hanbal, forming, their own Fiqh group or sects which came to be known as Sunni or Hanafi, the Shafaee, the Maliki and the Hanbly. Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh was

the follower (*Muqallid*) of Hazrat Imam Abu Hanifah for whom he had a great regard and reverence in his belief. Wherever the name of Hazrat Imam occurs in the book *'Kashful Mahjub'*, Data Sahib remembers and mentions him with great respect and devotion. Some time he addresses the Great Imam as 'The Imam of the Imams (*Imam-e-Imamaan*), 'The Leader of the Sunnis (*Muqtada-e-Sunniyaan*) and some time as the Dignity of the scholars of Fiqh and Ilm (*Sharaf-e-Fuqaha-o-Ulamma*").

HIS MATRIMONAL LIFE: It is surprising that there is no mention in any of the biographies including his own about the matrimonial life of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh except for a cursory mention in the *Kashful Mahjub* that he had married but a separation took place and there after he did solemnize the second marriage during the rest of his life.

ARRIVAL IN LAHORE: After the *wisal* (demise) of his *Murshid-e-Kamil*, Hazrat Data Sahib left his native town Ghazni for good and made his way through the terrains of hazardous journey towards the Indian subcontinent which was strewn with idols and idol worshippers and a life which was far from cultured and civilised from enlightened conceptual points of view. He was accompanied by his colleagues and co-sharers of his spiritual ideology among whom alongwith others Shaikh Ahmad Sarakhsi and Shaikh Abu Saeed Hajveri were prominent. Though these enthusiastic warm-hearted preachers were less in number but this apparent deficiency was made good and even surpassed by the combined spirit of the numerical hordes of marchers, the new entrants in the subcontinent under the leadership of Hazrat Data Gunj Bukhsh. They did not flinch in their energetic effervescent march to their mentally set destination and came down to Lahore, discarding and overcoming the different terrains of

their long and tiresome journey and the stiff and at place violent opposition of the opponents and resisters. Their only and the chief Mission was the preaching of Islam and establishing a citadel and sanctuary for the promulgation and consolidation of Islam at this new place Lahore with hopes of its expansion to other adjoining and distant territories. When Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh arrived in Lahore in the company of enthusiastic and energetic followers, it was the reigning period of Sultan Masood Ghaznavi the son of the more famous Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi who had already earned his name as the 'Idols breaker' (*But Shikan*) in the history of Islam as well as of India!

The reigning period of Sultan Masood Ghaznavi is from 421 A.H. to 432 A.H., but the exact year of arrival of Data Sahib in Lahore is not known nor could it be ascertained from any biographical and historical sources. If the year of his *wisal* be taken as 465 A.H. then the period of his stay at Lahore exceeds thirty years. During all this long period he was devoted, day and night, in the preaching of Islam among the hard cored idolaters and other irreligious elements of the place. His sweet and heart capturing mannerisms of preaching won the hearts of his listeners and they felt themselves enthralled and captivated which led to their forsaking idol-worship and willing acceptance of Islam as the true and dynamic religion of One Soreign Allah as enunciated and initially preached by the Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa Sal lal Laho Alaihe Wa Sallam in Makkah Mukarramah and later in Madinah Munawwarah and other parts of Arabian Peninsula and beyond.

People in throngs accepted Islam and took oath of fealty and allegiance at the hands of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh and their numbers gradually rose to legions. They

proved to be the lamp bearers of the Divine religion which enlightened and energised their own followers in turn, thus spreading the area of Islamic influence far and wide in the subcontinent where Islam entrenched itself so firmly and securely in the hearts of new converts so that even after a lapse of more than nine hundred years there is no visible sign of the relapse and decline of Islamic spirit among its followers whatever else may have happened to other sectors of life. In spite of all trials and travails besetting in the path of Islam followers, when the time and call come their way for the survival and safeguard of pristine Islamic teachings, not even a neutral observer finds no let and decline in the spirit of upholding the Islamic banners aloft discarding and trampelling all hurdles and obstacles, thus ensuring that the *Nurani* (Divine Lit) visage of Islam remains untarnished and unsmeared in the least! The Darvaishes which the mystics may reverently be addressed as such, are intoxicated with the Remembrance and Devotion to Almighty Allah and His Holy Prophet Sallal Laho Alaihe Wa sallam, and ever vigilant watchfulness for the safety and glory of Islam as the sure remedy of human ills, thus become the true vicegerent of Allah on earth. And Allah in return and as a reward for their carrying out His Command with utmost submission and humility in His Presence fills every fibre of their physical and spiritual frame with His Own *Nur* and *Light* in such an visible and exhibitional *Manifestation* that any one who comes in contact with their Divine glorified persons becomes so much charmed and enthralled at the very first glance at their holy visages that he would willingly submit to whatever he is asked to execute as an inspired obligation. Thus a formidable contingent is formed which is ever prepared to sacrifice their all for the cause and sustenance of Divine Mission of peace and security on Earth which is Islam in its real significance.

This is the unboasted and untrumpeted achievement at the holy blissful hands of those servants of Allah who are sometimes sarcastically called as slumberous mendicants on account of their hours long engrossment in their meditations and *Muraqibas*, or as spineless crusaders to fight against social and moral evils without any visible weaponry in their hands, and yet when in spite of all these tauntings of being resourless, the Revolution in the hearts and minds does take place entirely through the Divinely inspired glances by these spiritualists and Diviners, the joker and ridiculers stand aghast speechless and bewildered at the unbelievable phenomena before their own eyes. This is indeed the critical moment when the genuine truth seekers and the ridiculers part with one another as belonging to the distinct forces of Good (*Khair*) and those soulless creatures joining hands with the forces of evil (*Sharr*) as if in execution of Divine Plan of creation! The courageous conquerors of the Ghazni Dynasty conquered the lands of the aliens bringing their vast countries and the inhabitants making them servants and subjects geologically and outwardly, demolished strong concrete fortresses and planted their royal flags over the palaces of their enemies and forcibly got their names and their achievements recorded in the history of the regions, but as against these kings and the army commanders and in juxtaposition to horrible tales of their forcible subjugation of the people, a Darvaish rising from the tracts of Ghazni almost resourceless worldlywise without any pomp and show of valour and awe of physical conquest, in the company of zealous devotees marched from place to place conquering the hearts and subjugating the souls of the people who came within his sight and transformed the life patterns of these people as if giving them a new birth and new life which would stand them in good stead in the new existence of the Hereafter.

WAFAT: There are more than one versions as regards the demise of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh. Professor Nicholson has written that the intermediary year between 456 AH to 465 AH is the year of his *wisal* (death). But the Epitaph which was set up earlier (perhaps removed afterwards) over the grave of Hazrat Data Sahib by Jami Lahori indicated the year of demise as 465 AH derived from the calculation of numerical values of letters of Arabic Alphates comprising the word 'SARDAR' (with letters, Seen, Ray, Dal, Alif and Ray each of which has been given the numbers according to Abjad system which is peculiar to outsiders and strangers to this Mathematic system! Nevertheless this system of calculation is in vogue in the Islamic system of calculation. The numerical break up of the Abjad letters comprising the word 'SARDAR' alongwith the numerical values of these letter is as follows:

Letter	Seen	has value	60
==	Ray ==		200
==	Dal ==		4
==	Alif ==		1
==	Ray ==		200
	-----	-----	
	SARDAR		465

(Note:- The explanation of the letters and their Numerical values to arrive at the figure 465 is by way of a paranthesis by the translator in English of the Moqaddama – Introduction to the book in Urdu)

BOOKS OF DATA SAHIB: Data Sahib was a scholar of a very high calibre, broad minded and deep spirtual insight. He was himself a treasure-personified of books of every conceivable points of view concerning spiritual and mundane aspects of life. His knowledge both in philosophy and logics (*Maqulaat*) as also in traditions (*Manqullaat*)

was uncomparable. He possessed clear unfading mind distinct farsighted vision, unequivocal transparent heart and conscience, unbiased outlook in all matters. He was also a poetic genious but could not or did not leave an imprint as legacy to be sources of guidance and beneficence for person who has a dig in the *genre*, but persons of dubious inclination beguiled him in the name of borrowing his books, in prose and poetry and working as pirates published these works in their own names while the Data Sahib simply out of courtesy and avoiding harm to any one's personal interest, kept an honourable and dignified silence Nonetheless Data Sahib was the author of a number of books on different important subjects, the titles of these books are as under:-

1) *Diwan* (Collection of poetic verses);
2) *Kitabe Fana-o-Baqa*
3) *Asrarul Ghalq Wal Mam'oo'naat*
4) *Kitabul Bayan Le Ahlil Eimaan*
5) *Bahrul Qulub*
6) Minhajuddin and
7) Sharh-e-Kalam Mansur Al Hallaj

But it is extremely regrettable that none of these highly valuable and precious books is available. Some books were pirated and offenders attributed these books to themselves as authors without the slightest prick of conscience. This has been mentioned by him in his only surviving matchless grandiose book '*Kashful Mahjub*, with a touch of regret and sorrow. The other books became untraceable and are not available even for a mention or review.

SOMETHING ABOUT *KASHFUL MAHJUB*: It is an accepted fact that the worth and class of any work (book) is judged in relation to the personal qualities of its author. To say anything howsoever grandiloquent it maybe about the

book, the author of which is the personality of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh, is like placing a candle or lamp before the sun! Words of any class and degree simply fail to examine and assess the greatness and excellence of the distinction of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh. The great scholars and exponents of theology as well as spiritualism have admitted in every age and at every centre of learning, have expressed their opinions and reviews in the most praiseworthy and adorable words and expressions. Some of these reviews or appreciative words recorded in this behalf are reproduced below:

Hazrat Maulana Jami in his universally acclaimed book '*Nafhat'ul'Uns*' pays tributes to Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh in these unforgettable words.

Translation (from Persian): "He was at once a learned scholar as well as fully conversant with the Truths and Realities associatted with the creation of the universe. He benefited himself with the company and association of numerous great religious and spiritual leaders of his time and received blessings from them. He is the author of "*Kashful Mahjub*" which is one of rare reliable books on the knowledge of *Tasawwuf*. In this book he has collected a number of delicate and deep secrets (of the universe etc)."

Mufti Ghulam Sarwar of Lahore who is himself an author of grand calibre. He was considered as a high class research scholar among his compatriots and his personality is a grand source of inspiration and guidance in the realm of Tasawwuf alongwith his estimation of other exponents of this branch of knowledge. This is what he says about this book of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh:

Translation (from Persian): Hazrat Shaikh Ali Hajveri is the author of many books and among these books the one

which is most reputed and well known is '*Kashful Mahjub*'. No one can dare raise an objection or criticize this book in any respect. This is the first ever book on *Tasawwuf* written in Persian"

The most valued and the appropriate opinion about this book is that which has been given is that of *Sultanul Mashaikh* Nizamul Haq wal Deen Hazrat *Mahboobe Elahi*. It is said in *Fawaidul Fawad* (by Hazrat Nizamuddin *Auliya*):
"One who has no *murshid* will get him as a blessing of study of this book"

A great and weighty reason of '*Kashful Mahjoob*' being popular as an eternal guidance in the present materialistic age when practically every one is involved in mad race of grabbing more and more wealth and material comfort is that this book has inspired and awakened the conscience and spirit of research of truth among a large group of people have engaged themselves in printing and publishing '*Kashful Mahjub*' in a befitting manner with neat and tidy get up and vieing with one another in the dissimination of message of spiritual blessing which the book contains. Apart from the *Musalmans* even non-Muslim Orientalists are also busy translating this book in foreign languages. Among the English Orientalists Professor Nicholson who was the teacher of Arabic and Persian in the Cambridge University has translated this book into English and to be true he has accomplished this feat in the excellent manner which this book deserves. Likewise the Soviet Russian Orientalist Professor Zufiskieve in keeping with the high estatimation of this book in his own mind, he undertook the arduous and yet enviable task of correcting and amending the unwarranted intrusion in the original text of this book, he has managed to spent many of his precious years befor he succeeded in his painstaking self-imposed obligation,

and he himself wrote a research based introduction in Persian which is the original language of *Kashful Mahjub* and published it from Leningrad. Now in the Central Library of Leningrad there is an authentic error free copy of the real *Kashful Mahjub* -- an honour which perhaps is not available with Eastern sector of Europe where belief in Religion and one Almighty Allah is a taboo. This is indeed a true acknowledgement of the greatness of the book in this region.

THE TITLE OF "GUNJ BAKHSH": The holy personality of Data Sahib is more renowned and acclaimed than his personal name. His personal name is Shaikh Ali and *Kunniyat* (family name) is Abul Hasan. But his title of *Gunj Bakhsh* (The Endower of Treasure) one who bestows or offers his treasures as personal gifts unto whomsoever he pleases, is known and recognised all over the world and hearer's attention is at once drawn to one of the greatest Mystic sages whose holy shrine is the centre of homage payers at Lahore, the historical city of Pakistan. The research scholars have divined to locate the genesis of this title of Data Gunj Bakhsh. It is said that Hazrat Sultanul Hind Khwaja Moinul Haq wal Deen Ajmeri paid a visit to the *mazar* of Hazrat Data Sahib and stayed in one *Hujra* (small secluded room meant for worship) for forty days to complete his *Muraqabah* (Meditation). During this period Hazrat Khwaja Ajmeri received magnimous spiritual enlightenments and soulrousing blessings bestowed spiritually by Hazrat Data Sahib to such an enormous measure that only Hazrat Khwaja can describe. It is said that when after the completion of forty days Chillah Hazrat Khwaja Moinuddin intended to leave the Hujra and pay farewell homage the following famous poetic couplet came unto his lips and the Khwaja Sahib in an ecstatic trance recited the said couplet which caught the attention of the bystanders and came upto their tongues and lips and

became instant, verbal currency far and wide as if through Divine charm! The literal content of the couplet is reproduced below for memorising in exact words which is sure to be a source of spiritual (as well as mundane) blessing. The couplet is:-

گنج بخش فیض عالم مظہر نورِ خدا

ناقصاں را پیر کامل کاملاں را راہنما

GUNJ BAKHSH FAIZE AALAM MAZHARE NUR-E-KHUDA

NAQISAAN RA PEER-E-KAMIL KAMILAN RA RAHNUMA

An attempted translation of this inspiring couplet maybe presented thus:

'The Bestower of the treasure of the universal blessing, the Manifestation of Divine Light.

The Perfect spiritual inspirer to the raw (and uninitiated) and a guide for those on path of Perfection.

The words so rehearsed by the Great Khwaja Ajmeri soon became spiritual slogan for all those who are ever ready to remember and pay humage to Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh. After the Khwaja Moinuddin Ajmeri, the holy shrine of Data Sahib became the centre of spiritual. blessing and the visits of other *Murshids* belonging practically to all sects and creeds of spiritual theology to this holy place has further popularised and sanctified the shrine of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh. Now-a-days the shrine of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh by its spiritual mystic magnetic force attracts unending crowds of pilgrims and devotees who are seen at almost all the odd-even hours making their way to the *Mazar Shareef* begging and

entreating his favour for presenting and solving their problems in the presence of Almighty Allah and this faith in his spiritual powers has never been in question. Yet it is an irony of situation that in the midst of these throbbing bands of believers of mystic blessings an antagonistic group of decriers of the great mystics as also of the creed of mysticism has coopped up which spares no time and energy of denouncing this creed of mystic as anti-Islamic touching the frings of *Kufr* and faithlessness. But the Truth never succumbs and surrends and establishes its entity. This is the reward of remembering Almighty Allah and offering thanks giving to Him Who in turn does not overlook the sincere help seekers in hours of their agony and miseries.

Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh has shown us the way of access to Almighty's favour and it is to keep the Remembrance of and thanksgiving ever pulsating and throbbing in our hearts and mind. And this is the surest way of being blessed with the Favours and Munificence of Almighty Allah and this is also the Divine way of remembering and benefiting the truly Humble servants of Allah who Himself abides by His own Assurance that He never causes breach of His Promise.

فاذکرونی اذکرکم واشکروالی ولا تکفرون

In conclusion it is only befitting and appropriate that some heartfelt tributes maybe offered in the presence and in honour of Hazrat Data Gunj Bakhsh.

ان اللہ لایخلف المیعاد

Syed of Hajver is the Master of the *Ummats*
His Tomb (Mazar) is most sacred you the Saint of Sanajr
His Tomb (Mazar) is like the Ka'bah for the Saint of Sanjar
He broke down the obstacles of Mountains
In the land India he sowed the seed of Prostration
The Grandeur of Age of Farooq is reflected in his resplendant visage

The guardian of the honour of the Holy Qur'an
The house of the Falsehood gets destroyed through the Force of his sight
The clay of Punjab got its reviving new birth with the blow of his breath
Our Morn got brightened through him as sun
He is himself the Lover, The messenger and carrier of message of love
From his forehead the secrets of the Truth become evident

Khak-e-Rah-e-Sahibdilan
(Dust of the path of the Elect)
Pir Muhammad Karam Shah
Al-Azhari (RA)

PREFACE

This translation of the most ancient and celebrated Persian treatise on Sufi'ism will, I hope, be found useful not only by the small number of students familiar with the subject at first hand, but also by many readers who, without being Orientalists themselves, are interested in the general history of mysticism and may wish to compare or contrast the diverse yet similar manifestations of the mystical spirit in Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam. The origin of Sufi'ism and its relation to these great religions cannot properly be considered here, and I dismiss such questions the more readily because I intend to deal with them on another occasion. It is now my duty to give some account of the author of the *Kashf al-Mahjub*, and to indicate the character of his work.

Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali, b. "Uthman b. 'Ali al-Ghaznawi al-Jullabi al-Hujwiri[1] was a native of Ghazna in Afghanistan.[2] Of his life very little is known beyond what he relates incidentally in the *Kashf al-Mahjub*. He studied Sufism under Abu 'l-Fadl Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Khuttali[3] (p.166), who was a pupil of Abu 'l-Hasan al-Husri (ob.371 A.H.), and under Abu 'l-'Abbas Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Ashqani or al-Shaqani[4] (p.168). He also received instruction from Abu 'l-Qasim Gurgani[5] (p.169) and Khwaja Muzaffar[6] (p.170), and he mentions a great number of Shaykhs whom he had met and conversed with in the course of his wanderings. He travelled far and wide through the Muhammadan empire from Syria to Turkistan and from the Indus to the Caspian Sea. Among the countries and places which he visited were Adharbayajan (pp.57 and 410), the tomb of Bayazid at Bistam (p.68), Damascus, Ramla, and Bayt al-Jinn in Syria (pp.94, 167,343), Tus and Uzkand (p.234), the tomb of Abu Sa'id b. Abu'l-Khayr at Mihna (p.235), Merv (p.401), and the

Jabal al-Buttam to the east of Samarcand (p.407). He seems to have settled for a time in 'Iraq, where he ran deeply into debt (p.345). It may be inferred from a passage on p.364 that he had a short and unpleasant experience of married life. Finally, according to the *Riyad al-Awliya*, he went to reside at Lahore and ended his days in that city. His own statement, however, shows that he was taken there as a prisoner against his will (p.91), and that in composing the *Kashf al-Mahjub* he was inconvenienced by the loss of the books which he had left at Ghazna. The date of his death is given as 456 A.H. (1063-4 A.D.) or 464 A.H. (1071-2 A.D.), but it is likely that he survived Abu 'l-Qasim al-Qushayri, who died in 465 A.H.(1063-4 A.D) or 464 A.H. (1071-2 A.D.), Rieu's observation (*Cat. of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum,* i, 343) that the author classes Qushayri with the Sufis who had passed away before the time at which he was writing, is not quite accurate. The author says (p.161): "Some of those whom I shall mention in this chapter are already deceased, and some are still living." But of the ten Sufis in question only one, namely, Abu 'l-Qasim Gurgani, is referred to in terms which leave no doubt that he was alive when the author wrote. In the *Safinat al-Awliya*, No.71, it is stated that Abu 'l-Qasim Gurgani died in 450 A.H. If this date were correct, the *Kashf al-Mahjub* must have been 'written at least fifteen years before Qushayri's death. On the other hand, my MS. of the *Shadharat al-Dhahab* records the death of Abu 'l-Qasim Gurgani under the year 469 A.H., a date which appears to me more probable, and in that case the statement that the author survived Qushayri may be accepted, although the evidence on which it rests is mainly negative, for we cannot lay much stress on the fact that Qushayri's name is sometimes followed by the Muslim equivalent for "of blessed memory". I conjecture, then, that the author died between 465 and 469 A.H.[7] His birth may be placed in the last decade of the tenth or the first decade of the

eleventh century of our era, and he must have been in the prime of youth when Sultan Mahmud died in 421 A.H. (1030 A.D.). The *Risala-i Abdaliyya*,[8] a fifteenth century treatise on the Muhammadan saints by Ya'qub b. 'Uthman al-Ghaznawi, contains an anecdote, for which it would be hazardous to claim any historical value, to the effect that al-Hujwiri once argued in Mahmud's presence with an Indian philosopher and utterly discomfited him by any exhibition of miraculous powers. Be that as it may, he was venerated as a saint long after his death, and his tomb at Lahore was being visited by pilgrims when Bakhtawar Khan wrote the *Riyad al-Awliya* in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

In the introduction to the *Kash al-Mahjub* al-Hujwiri complains that two of his former works had been given to the public by persons who erased his name from the title page, and pretended that they themselves were the authors. In order to guard against the repetition of this fraud, he has inserted his own name in many passages of the present work. His writings, to which he has occasion to refer in the *Kashf al-Mahjub*, are :-

1. A *diwan* (p.2)
2. *Minhaj al-din*, on the method of Sufi'ism (p.2). It comprised a detailed account of the Ahl-i Suffa (p.80) and a full biography of Husayn b. Mansur al-Hallaj (p.153).
3. *Asrar al-khiraq wa 'l-ma'unat*, on the patched frocks of the Sufis (p.56).
4. *Kitab-i fana u baqa*, composed "in the vanity and rashness of youth" (p.60)
5. A work, of which the title is not mentioned, in explanation of the sayings of Husayn b. Mansur al-Hallaj (p.153)
6. *Kitab al-bayan li-ahl al-'iyan*, on union with God. (p.280)

7. *Bahr al-qulub* (p.259).
8. *Al-Ri'ayat li-huquq Allah*, on the Divine unity (p.280)
9. A work, of which the title is not mentioned, on faith (p.286)

None of these books has been preserved.

The *Kashf al-Mahjub*,[9] which belongs to the later years of the author's life, and, partly at any rate, to the period of his residence in Lahore, was written in reply to certain questions addressed to him by a fellow-townsman, Abu Sa'id al-Hujwiri. Its object is to set forth a complete system of Sufi'ism, not to put together a great number of saying by different Shaykhs, but to discuss and expound the doctrines and practices of the Sufis. The author's attitude throughout is that of a teacher instructing a pupil. Even the biographical section of the work (pp.70-175) is largely expository. Before stating his own view the author generally examines the current opinions on the same topic and refutes them if necessary. The discussion of mystical problems and controversies is enlivened by many illustrations drawn from his personal experience. In this respect the *Kashf al-Mahjub* is more interesting than the *Risala* of Qushayri, which is so valuable as a collection of sayings, anecdotes, and definitions, but which follows a somewhat formal and academic method on the orthodox lines. No one can read the present work without detecting, behind the scholastic terminology, a truly Persian flavour of philosophical speculation.
Although he was a Sunni and a Hanafite, al-Hujwiri, like many Sufis before and after him, managed to reconcile his theology with an advanced type of mysticism, in which the theory of "annihilation" (*fana'*) holds a dominant place, but he scarcely goes to such extreme lengths as would justify us in calling him a pantheist. He strenuously resists and pronounces heretical the doctrine that human personality

can be merged and extinguished in the being of God. He compares annihilation to burning by fire, which transmutes the quality of all things to its own quality, but leaves their essence unchanged. He agrees with his spiritual director, al-Khuttali, in adopting the theory of Junayd that "sobriety" in the mystical acceptation of the term is preferable to "intoxication". He warns his readers often and emphatically that no Su'fis, not even those who have attained the highest degree of holiness, are exempt from the obligation of obeying the religious law. In other points, such as the excitation of ecstasy by music and singing, and the use of erotic symbolism in poetry, his judgment is more or less cautious. He defends al-Hallaj from the charge of being a magician, and asserts that his sayings are pantheistic only in appearance, but condemns his doctrines as unsound. It is clear that he is anxious to represent Sufi'ism as the true interpretation of Islam, and it is equally certain that the interpretation is incompatible with the text.[10] Notwithstanding the homage which he pays to the Prophet we cannot separate al-Hujwiri, as regards the essential principles of his teaching, from his older and younger contemporaries, Abu Sa'id b. Abu 'l-Khayr and 'Abdallah Ansari.[11] These three mystics developed the distinctively Persian theosophy which is revealed in full-blown splendour by Farid al-din 'Attar and Jalal al-din Rumi.

The most remarkable chapter in the *Kashf al-Mahjub* is the fourteenth, "Concerning the Doctrines held by the different sects of Su'fis," in which the author enumerates twelve mystical schools and explains the special doctrine of each.[12] So far as I know, he is the first writer to do this. Only one of the schools mentioned by him, namely, that of the Malamatis, seems to be noticed in earlier books on Sufi'ism; such brief references to the other schools as occur in later books, for example in the *Tadhkirat al-Awliya*, are probably made on his authority.

The question may be asked, "Did these schools really exist, or were they invented by al-Hujwiri in his desire to systematize the theory of Sufi'ism?" I see no adequate ground at present for the latter hypothesis, which involves the assumption that al-Hujwiri made precise statements that he must have known to be false. It is very likely, however, that in his account of the special doctrines which he attributes to the founder of each school he has often expressed his own views upon the subject at issue and has confused them with the original doctrine. The existence of these schools and doctrines, though lacking further corroboration,[13] does not seem to me incredible; on the contrary, it accords with what happened in the case of the Mu'tazilites and other Muhammadan schismatics. Certain doctrines were produced and elaborated by well-known Shaykhs, who published them in the form of tracts or were content to lecture on them until, by a familiar process the new doctrine became the pre-eminent feature of a particular school. Other schools might then accept or reject it. In some instances sharp controversy arose, and the novel teaching gained so little approval that it was confined to the school of its author or was embraced only by a small minority of the Sufi brotherhood. More frequently it would, in the course of time, be drawn into the common stock and reduced to its proper level. Dr. Goldziher has observed that Sufi'ism cannot be regarded as a regularly organized sect within Islam, and that its dogmas cannot be compiled into a regular system.[14] That is perfectly true, but after allowing for all divergences there remains a fairly definite body of doctrine which is held in common by Su'fis of many different shades and is the result of gradual agglomeration from many different minds.

It is probable that oral tradition was the main source from which al-Hujwiri derived the materials for his work. Of extant treatises on Sufi'ism he mentions by name only

the *Kitab al-Luma'* by Abu Nasr al-Sarraj, who died in 377 or 378 A.H. This book is written in Arabic and is the oldest specimen of its class. Through the kindness of Mr. A.G. Ellis, who has recently acquired the sole copy that is at present known to Orientalists, I have been able to verify the reading of a passage quoted by al-Hujwiri (p.341), and to assure myself that he was well acquainted with his predecessor's work. The arrangement of the *Kashf al-Mahjub* is partially based on that of the *Kitab al-Luma*, the two books resemble each other in their general plan, and some details of the former are evidently borrowed from the latter. Al-Hujwiri refers in his notice of Ma'ruf al-Karkhi (p.114) to the biographies of Su'fis compiled by Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami and Abu 'l-Qasim al-Qushayri. Although he does not give the titles, he is presumably referring to Sulami's Tabaqat al-Sufiyya and Qushayri's *Risala*.[15] The *Kashf al-Mahjub* contains a Persian rendering of some passages in the *Risala* of Qushayri, with whom al-Hujwiri seems to have been personally acquainted. A citation from 'Abdallah Ansari occurs on p.26.

Manuscripts of the *Kashf al-Mahjub* are preserved in serveral European libraries.[16] It has been lithographed at Lahore, and Professor Schukovski of St. Petersburg is now, as I understand, engaged in preparing a critical text. The Lahore edition is inaccurate, especially in the spelling of names, but most of its mistakes are easy to emend, and the text agrees closely with two MSS. in the Library of the India Office (Nos. 1773 and 1774 in Ethe's *Catalogue*), with which I have compared it. I have also consulted a good MS. in the British Museum (Rieu's *Catalogue*, i, 342). The following abbreviations are used: L. to denote the Lahore edition, I. to denote the India Office MS 1773 (early seventeenth century), J. to denote the India Office MS 1774 (late seventeenth century), and B. to denote the British Museum MS or. 219 (early seventeenth century). In

my translation I have, of course, corrected the Lahore text where necessary. While the doubtful passages are few in number, there are, I confess, many places in which a considerable effort is required in order to grasp the author's meaning and follow his argument. The logic of a Persian Su'fi must sometimes appear to European readers curiously illogical. Other obstacles might have been removed by means of annotation, but this expedient, if adopted consistenly, would have swollen the volume to a formidable size.

The English version is nearly complete, and nothing of importance has been omitted, though I have not hesitated to abridge when opportunity offered. Arabists will remark an occasional discrepancy between the Arabic sayings printed in italics and the translations accompanying them: this is due to my having translated, not the original Arabic, but the Persian paraphrase given by al-Hujwiri.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON

1 Jullab and Hujwir were two suburbs of Ghazna. Evidently he resided for some time in each of them.
2 Notices occur in the Nafahat al-Uns, No.377; the Safinat al-Awliya, No.298 (Ethe's Cat. Of the Persian MSS. In the Library of the India Office, I, col.304); the Riyad al-Awliya, Or. 1745, f. 140a (Rieu's Cat. Of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum, iii,975). In the khatimat al-tab' on the last page of the Lahore edition of the Kashf al-Mahjub he is called Hadrat-I Data Ganj bakhsh 'Ali al-Hujwiri.
3 Nafahat, No.376. Through al-Khuttali, al-Husri, and Abu Bakr al-Shibli the author of the Kashf al-Mahjub is spiritually connected with Junayd of Baghdad (ob.297 A.H.)
4 Ibid., No.375. The nisba Shaqqani or Shaqani is derived from Shaqqan, a village near Nishapur.
5 Nafahat, No.367.

6 Ibid., No.368.
7 The date 465 A.H. is given by Azad in his biographical work on the famous men of Balgram, entitled Ma'athir al-Kiram.
8 See Ethe's Cat. Of the Persian MSS. in the India Office Library, No.1774 (2). The author of this treatise does not call al-Hujwiri the brother of Abu Sa'id b. Abi 'l-Khayr, as Ethe says, but his spiritual brother (biradar-e haqiqat).
9 Its full title is Kashf al-mahjub li-arbab al-qulub (Hajji Khalifa, v, 215)
10 The author's view as to the worthlessness of outward forms of religion is expressed with striking boldness in his chapter on the Pilgrimage (pp.326-9)
11 Many passages from the Kashf al-Mahjub are quoted, word for word, in Jami's Nafahat al-Uns, which is a modernized and enlarged recension of 'Abdullah Ansari's Tabaqat al-Sufiyya.
12 A summary of these doctrines will be found in the abstract of a paper on "The Oldest Persian Manual of Sufi'ism" which I read at Oxford in 1908 (Trans. Of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions, I, 293-7)
13 Some of al-Hujwiri's twelve sects reappear at a later epoch as orders of dervishes, but the pedigree of those orders which trace their descent from ancient Sufis is usually fictitious.
14 RAS., 1904, p.130.
15 Cf., however, p.114, note.
16 See Ethe's Cat. Of the Persian MSS. in the India Office Library, I, col.970, where other MSS. are mentioned, and Blochet, Cat. Des manuscripts persans de la Bibliotheque Nationale, I, 261 (No.401).

KASHF AL-MAHJUB

INTRODUCTION

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE.

O Lord, bestow on us mercy from Thyself, and provide for us a right course of action!

Praise be to God, who hath revealed the secrets of His kingdom to His Saints, and hath disclosed the mysteries of His power to His intimates, and hath shed the blood of Lovers with the sword of His glory, and hath let the hearts of Gnostics taste the joy of His communion! He it is that bringeth dead hearts to life by the radiance of the perception of His eternity and His majesty, and reanimates them with the comforting spirit of knowledge by divulging His Names.

And peace be upon His Apostle, Muhammad, and his family and his companions and his wives!

'Ali b. 'Uthman b. 'Ali al-Jullabi al-Ghaznawi al-Hujwiri (may God be well pleased with him!) says as follows:-

I have asked God's blessing, and have cleared my heart of motives related to self, and have set to work in accordance with your invitation - may God make you happy! - and have firmly resolved to fulfil all your wishes by means of this book. I have entitled it "The Revelation of the Mystery". Knowing what you desire, I have arranged the book in divisions suitable to your purpose. Now I pray God to aid and prosper me in its completion, and I divest

myself of my own strength and ability in word and deed. It is God that gives success.

SECTION

Two considerations have impelled me to put my name at the beginning of the book: one particular, the other general.1 As regards the latter, when persons ignorant of this science see a new book, in which the author's name is not set down in several places, they attribute his work to themselves, and thus the author's aim is defeated, since books are compiled, composed, and written only to the end that the author's name may be kept alive and that readers and students may pronounce a blessing on him. This misfortune has already befallen me twice. A certain individual borrowed my poetical works, of which there was no other copy, and retained the manuscript in his possession, and circulated it, and struck out my name which stood at its head, and caused all my labour to be lost. May God forgive him! I also composed another book, entitled "The Highway of Religion" (*Minhaj al-Din*), on the method of Sufi'ism - may God make it flourish! A shallow pretender, whose words carry no weight, erased my name from the title page and gave out to the public that he was the author, notwithstanding that connoisseurs laughed at his assertion. God, however, brought home to him the unblessedness of this act and erased his name from the register of those who seek to enter the Divine portal.

As regards the particular consideration, when people see a book, and know that its author is skilled in the branch of science of which it treats, and is thoroughly versed therein, they judge its merits more fairly and apply themselves more seriously to read and remember it, so that both author and reader are better satisfied. The truth is best known to God.

SECTION

In using the words "I have asked God's blessing" (p.3) I wished to observe the respect due to God, who said to His Apostle: "When you read the Quran, take refuge with God from the stoned Devil" (Qur.xvi,100). "To ask blessing" means "to commit all one's affairs to God and to be saved from the various sorts of contamination." The Prophet (May peace be upon him) used to teach his followers to ask a blessing (istikharat) just as he taught them the Quran. When a man recognizes that his welfare does not depend on his own effort and foresight, but that every good and evil that happens to him is decreed by God, who knows best what is salutary for him, he cannot do otherwise than surrender himself to Destiny and implore God to deliver him from the wickedness of his own soul.

SECTION

As to the words "I have cleared my heart of all motives related to self" (p.3), no blessing arises from anything in which selfish interest has a part. If the selfish man succeeds in his purpose, it brings him to perdition, for "the accomplishment of a selfish purpose is the key of Hell"; and if he fails, he will nevertheless have removed from his heart the means of gaining salvation, for "resistance to selfish promptings is the key of Paradise", as God hath said: "Whoso refrains his soul from lust, verily Paradise shall be his abode" (Qur.1xxix, 40-1). People act from selfish motives when they desire aught except to please God and to escape from Divine punishment. In fine, the follies of the soul have no limit and its manoeuvres are hidden from sight. If God will, a chapter on this subject will be found at its proper place in the present book.

SECTION

Now as to the words "I have set to work in accordance with your invitation, and have firmly resolved to fulfil all your wishes by means of this book" (p.3), since you thought me worthy of being asked to write this book for your instruction, it was incumbent on me to comply with your request. Accordingly it behoved me to make an unconditional resolution that I would carry out my undertaking completely. When anyone begins an enterprise with the intention of finishing it, he may be excused if imperfections appear in his work; and for this reason the Prophet (May peace be upon him) said: "The believer's intention is better than his performance." Great is the power of intention, through which a man advances from one category to another without any external change. For example, if anyone without any external change. For example, if anyone endures hunger for a while without having intended to fast, he gets no recompense (*thawab*) for it in the next world; but if he forms in his heart the intention of fasting, he becomes one of the favourites of God (*muqarraban*). Again, a traveller who stays for a time in a city does not become a resident until he has formed the intention to reside there. A good intention, therefore, is preliminary to the due performance of every act.

SECTION

When I said that I had called this book "The Revelation of the Mystery" (p.3), my object was that the title of the book should proclaim its contents to persons of insight. You must know that all mankind are veiled from the subtlety of spiritual truth except God's saints and His chosen friends; and inasmuch as this book is an elucidation of the Way of Truth, and an explanation of mystical

sayings, and an uplifting of the veil of mortality, no other title is appropriate to it. Essentially, unveiling (*kashf*) is destruction of the veiled object, just as the veil destroys revelation (*mukashafat*), and just as, for instance, one who is near cannot bear to be far, and one who is far cannot bear to be near; or as an animal which is generated from vinegar dies when it falls into any other substance, while those animals which are generated from other substances perish if they are put in vinegar. The spiritual path is hard to travel except for those who were created for that purpose. The Prophet (May peace be upon him) said: "Everyone finds easy that for which he was created." There are two veils: one is the "veil of covering" (*hijab-i rayni*), which can never be removed, and the other is the "veil of clouding" (*hijab-i ghayni*), which is quickly removed. The explanation is as follows: one man is veiled from the Truth by his essence (*dhat*), so that in his view truth and falsehood are the same Another man is veiled from the Truth by his attributes (*sifat*), so that his nature and heart continually seek the Truth and flee from falsehood. Therefore the veil of essence, which is that of "covering" (*rayni*), is never removed. *Rayn* is synonymous with *khatm* (sealing) and tab' (imprinting). Thus God hath said: "By no means: but their deeds have spread a covering (rana) over their hearts" (Qur.1xxxiii,14); then He made the sense of this manifest and said: "Verily it is all one to the unbelievers whether thou warnest them or not; they will not believe" (Qur.ii,5); then he explained the cause thereof, saying: "God hath sealed up their hearts" (Qur.ii,6). But the veil of attributes, which is that of "clouding" (*ghayni*), may be removed at times, for essence does not admit of alteration, but the alteration of attributes is possible. The Sufi *Shaykhs* have given many subtle hints on the subject of *rayn* and *ghayn*. Junayd said: *Al-rayn min jumlat al-watanat wa 'l-ghayn min jumlat al-khatarat, "Rayn* belongs to the class of abiding things and *ghayn* to the class of

transient things." *Watan* is permanent and *khatar* is adventitious. For example, it is impossible to make a mirror out of a stone, though many polishers assemble to try their skill on it, but a rusty mirror can be made bright by polishing; darkness is innate in the stone, and brightness is innate in the mirror; since the essence is permanent, the temporary attribute does not endure.

Accordingly, I have composed this book for polishers of hearts which are infected by the veil of "clouding" but in which the substance of the light of the Truth is existent, in order that the veil may be lifted from them by the blessing of reading it, and that they may find their way to spiritual reality. Those whose being is compounded of denial of the truth and perpetration of falsehood will never find their way thither, and this book will be of no use to them.

SECTION

Now with reference to my words "knowing what you desire, I have arranged the book in divisions suitable to your purpose" (p.3), a questioner cannot be satisfied until he makes his want known to the person whom he interrogates. A question presupposes a difficulty, and a difficulty is insoluble until its nature is ascertained. Furthermore, to answer a question in general terms is only possible when he who asks it has full knowledge of its various departments and corollaries, but with a beginner one needs to go into detail, and offer diverse explanations and definitions; and in this case especially, seeing that you - God grant you happiness! -- desired me to answer your questions in detail and write a book on the matter.

SECTION

I said, "I pray God to aid and prosper me" (p.3), because God alone can help a man to do good deeds. When God assists anyone to perform acts deserving recompense, this is truly "success given by God" (*tawfiq*). The *Quran* and the Sunnah attest the genuineness of *tawfiq*, and the whole Muslim community are unanimous therein, except some Mu'tazilites and Qadarites, who assert that the expression *tawfiq* is void of meaning. Certain Sufi Shaykhs have said, *Al-tawfiq huwa 'i-qudrat 'ala 'l-taat 'inda 'l-isti'mal*, "When a man is obedient to God he receives from God increased strength." In short, all human action and inaction is the act and creation of God: therefore the strength whereby a man renders obedience to God is called *tawfiq*. The discussion of this topic, however, would be out of place here. Please God, I will now return to the task which you have proposed, but before entering on it I will set down your question in its exact form.

THE QUESTION PROPOSED

The questioner, Abu Sa'id al-Hujwiri, said: "Explain to me the true meaning of the Path of Sufi'ism and the nature of the 'stations' (*maqamat*) of the Sufis, and explain their doctrines and sayings, and make clear to me their mystical allegories, and the nature of Divine Love and how it is manifested in human hearts, and why the intellect is unable to reach the essence thereof, and why the soul recoils from the reality thereof, and why the spirit is lulled in the purity thereof; and explain the practical aspects of Sufi'ism which are connected with these theories."

ANSWER

The person questioned, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi al-

Hujwiri - may God have mercy on him! -- says:-

Know that in this our time the science of Sufi'ism is obsolete, especially in this country. The whole people is occupied with following its lusts and has turned its back on the path of quietism (*rida*), while the 'ulama and those who pretend to learning have formed a conception of Sufi'ism which is quite contrary to its fundamental principles.

High and low alike are content with empty professions: blind conformity has taken the place of spiritual enthusiasm. The vulgar say, "We know God," and the elect, satisfied if they feel in their hearts a longing for the next world, say, "This desire is vision and ardent love." Everyone makes pretensions, none attains to reality. The disciples, neglecting their ascetic practices, indulge in idle thoughts, which they call "contemplation".

I myself (the author proceeds) have already written several books on Sufi'ism, but all to no purpose. Some false pretenders picked out passages here and there in order to deceive the public, while they erased and destroyed the rest; others did not mutilate the books, but left them unread; others read them, bit did not comprehend their meaning, so they copied the text and committed it to memory and said: "We can discourse on mystical science." Nowadays true spiritualism is as rare as the Philosopher's Stone (*kibrit-i ahmar*); for it is natural to seek the medicine that fits the disease, and nobody wants to mix pearls and coral with common remedies like *shalitha*[2] and *dawa al-misk*.[3] In time past the works of eminent Sufis, falling into the hands of those who could not appreciate them, have been used to make lining for caps or binding for the poems of Abu Nuwas and the pleasantries of Jahiz. The royal falcon is sure to get its wings clipped when it perehes on the wall of an old woman's cottage. Our contemporaries give the name

of "law" to their lusts, pride and ambition they call "honour and learning", hypocrisy towards men "fear of God", concealment of anger "clemency", disputation "discussion", wrangling and foolishness "dignity", insincerity "renunciation", cupidity "devotion to God", their own senseless fancies "Divine knowledge", the motions of the heart and affections of the animal soul "Divine love", heresy "poverty", scepticism "purity", disbelief in positive religion (zandaqa) "self-annihilation", neglect of the Law of the Prophet (May peace be upon him) "the mystic Path", evil communication with time servers "exercise of piety". As Abu Bakr al-Wasiti said: "We are afflicted with a time in which there are neither the religious duties of Islam nor the morals of Paganism nor the virtues of Chivalry" (*ahlam-i dhawi 'l-muruwwa*). And Mutanabbi says to the same effect:-[4]

"God curse this world! What a vile place for any camel-rider to alight in!

For here the man of lofty spirit is always tormented".

SECTION

Know that I have found this universe an abode of Divine mysteries, which are deposited in created things. Substances accidents, elements, bodies, forms, and properties - all these are veils of Divine mysteries. From the standpoint of Unification (*tawhid*) it is polytheism to assert that any such veils exist, but in this world everything is veiled, by its being, from Unification, and the spirit is held captive by admixture and association with phenomenal being. Hence the intellect can hardly comprehend those Divine mysteries, and the spirit can but dimly perceive the marvels of nearness to God. Man, enamoured of his gross environment, remains sunk in ignorance and apathy, making no attempt to cast off the veil that has fallen upon

him. Blind to the beauty of Oneness, he turns away from God to seek the vanities of this world and allows his appetites to domineer over his reason, notwithstanding that the animal soul, which the Quran (xii, 53) describes as "commanding to evil" (*ammarat bi 'l-su*), is the greatest of all veils between God and Man.

Now I will begin and explain to you, fully and lucidly, what you wish to know concerning the "stations" and the "veils", and I will interpret the expressions of the technicologists (ahl-i sana'i'), and add thereto some sayings of the Shaykhs and anecdotes about them, in order that your object may be accomplished and that any learned doctors of law or others who look into this work may recognize that the Path of Sufi'ism has a firm root and a fruitful branch, since all the Sufi Shaykhs have been possessed of knowledge and have encouraged their disciples to acquire knowledge and to persevere in doing so. They have never been addicted to frivolity and levity. Many of them have composed treatises on the method of Sufi'ism which clearly prove that their minds were filled with divine thoughts.

1 The author's meaning appears to be that one consideration has a special reference to connoisseurs and competent persons, while the other has a general reference to the public at large.
2 An electuary used as a remedy for paralysis of the tongue or mouth.
3 See Dozy, supplement, under dawa.
4 Mutanabbi, ed. By Dieterici, p.662, l. 4 from foot.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE AFFIRMATION OF KNOWLEDGE

God hath said, describing the savants ('ulama'): "Of the those who serve God only the savants fear Him" (Qur. xxxv,25). The Prophet (May peace be upon him) said: "To seek knowledge is obligatory on every Muslim man and women;" and he said also: "Seek knowledge even in China." Knowledge is immense and life is short: therefore it is not obligatory to learn all the sciences, such as Astronomy and Medicine, and Arithmetic, etc., but only so much of each as bears upon the religious law: enough astronomy to know the times (of prayer) in the night, enough medicine to abstain from what is injurious, enough arithmetic to understand the divison of inheritances and to calculate the duration of the 'iddat,[1] etc. Knowledge is obligatory only in so far as is requisite for acting rightly. God condemns those who learn useless knowledge (Qur.ii, 96), and the Prophet (May peace be upon him) said: "I take refuge with Thee from knowledge that profiteth naught." Much may be done by means of a little knowledge, and knowledge should not be separated from action. The Prophet (May peace be upon him) said: "The devotee without divinity is like a donkey turning a mill," because the donkey goes round and round over its own tracks and never makes any advance.

Some regard knowledge as superior to action, while others put action first, but both parties are wrong. Unless action is combined with knowledge, it is not deserving of recompense. Prayer, for instance, is not really prayer, unless performed with knowledge of the principles of purification and those which concern the *qiblah*,[2] and with

knowledge of the nature of intention. Similarly, knowledge without action is not knowledge. Learning and committing to memory are acts for which a man is rewarded in the next world; if he gained knowledge without action and acquisition on his part, he would get no reward. Hence two classes of men fall into error: firstly, those who claim knowledge for the sake of public reputation but are unable to practise it, and in reality have not attained it; and secondly, those who pretend that practice suffices and that knowledge is unnecessary. It is told of Ibrahim b. Adham that he saw a stone on which was written, "Turn me over and read!" He obeyed, and found this inscription: "Thou dost not practise what thou knowest; why, then dost thou seek what thou knowest not?" Anas b. Malik says: "The wise aspire to know, the foolish to relate." He who uses his knowledge as a means of winning power and honour and wealth is no savant. The highest pinnacle of knowledge is expressed in the fact that without it none can know God.

SECTION

Knowledge is of two kinds: Divine and Human. The latter is worthless in comparison with the former, because God's knowledge is an attribute of Himself, subsisting in Him, whose attributes are infinite; whereas our knowledge is an attribute of ourselves, subsisting in us, whose attributes are finite. Knowledge has been defined as "comprehension and investigation of the object known", but the best definition of it is this: "A quality whereby the ignorant are made wise." God's knowledge is that by which He knows all things existent and non-existent: He does not share it with Man: it is not capable of division nor separable from Himself. The proof of it lies in the disposition of His action (*tartib-i-fi'lash*), since action demands knowledge in the agent as an indispensable condition. The Divine knowledge penetrates what is hidden

and comprehends what is manifest. It behoves the seeker to contemplate God in every act, knowing that God sees him and all that he does.

Story. They relate that a leading man in Basra went to his garden. By chance his eye fell upon the beautiful wife of his gardener. He sent the fellow away on some business and said to the woman: "Shut the gates." She replied: "I have shut them all except one, which I cannot shut." He asked: "Which one is that?" "The gate," said she, "that is between us and God." On receiving this answer the man repented and begged to be forgiven.

Hatim al-Asamm said: "I have chosen four things to know, and have discarded all the knowledge in the world besides." He was asked: "What are they?" "One," he answered, "is this: I know that my daily bread is apportioned to me, and will neither be increased nor diminished; consequently I have ceased to seek to augment it. Secondly, I know that I owe to God a debt which no other person can pay instead of me; therefore I am occupied with paying it. Thirdly, I know that there is one pursuing me (i.e. Death) from whom I cannot escape; accordingly I have prepared myself to meet him. Fourthly, I know that God is observing me; therefore I am ashamed to do what I ought not."

SECTION

The object of human knowledge should be to know God and His Commandments. Knowledge of "time" (*ilm-i-waqt*),[3] and of all outward and inward circumstances of which the due effect depends on "time", is incumbent upon everyone. This is of two sorts: primary and secondary. The external division of the primary class consists in making the Muslim's profession of faith, the internal division

consists in the attainment of true cognition. The external division of the secondary class consists in the practice of devotion, the internal division consists in rendering one's intention sincere. The outward and inward aspects cannot be divorced. The exoteric aspect of Truth without the esoteric is hypocrisy, and the esoteric without the exoteric is heresy. So, with regard to the Law, mere formality is defective, while mere spirituality is vain.

The knowledge of the Truth (*Haqiqat*) has three pillars--

(1) Knowledge of the Essence and Unity of God.
(2) Knowledge of the Attributes of God.
(3) Knowledge of the Actions and Wisdom of God.

The knowledge of the Law (*Shari'at*) also has three pillars -

(1) The Quran.
(2) The Sunnah.
(3) The Consensus (*Ijma*) of the *Muslim* community.

Knowledge of the Divine Essence involves recognition, on the part of one who is reasonable and has reached puberty, that God exists externally by His essence, that He is infinite and not bounded by space, that His essence is not the cause of evil, that none of His creatures is like unto Him, that He has neither wife nor child, and that He is the Creator and Sustainer of all that your imagination and intellect can conceive.

Knowledge of the Divine Attributes requires you to know that God has attributes existing in Himself, which are not He nor a part of Him, but exist in Him and subsist by Him, e.g. Knowledge, Power, Life, Will, Hearing, Sight,

Speech, etc.

Knowledge of the Divine Actions is your knowledge that God is the Creator of mankind and of all their actions, that He brought the non-existent universe into being, that He predestines good and evil and creates all that is beneficial and injurious.

Knowledge of the Law involves your knowing that God has sent us Apostles with miracles of an extraordinary nature; that our Apostle, Muhammad (on whom be pece!), is a true Messenger, who performed many miracles, and that whatever he has told us concerning the Unseen and the Visible is entirely true.

SECTION

There is a sect of heretics called Sophists (*Sufista iyan*), who believe that nothing can be known and that knowledge itself does not exist. I say to them: "You think that nothing can be known; is your opinion correct or not?" If they answer "It is correct", they thereby affirm the reality of knowledge; and if they reply "It is not correct", then to argue against an avowedly incorrect assertion is absurd. The same doctrine is held by a sect of heretics who are connected with Sufi'ism. They say that inasmuch as nothing is knowable, their negation of knowledge is more perfect than the affirmation of it. This statement proceeds from their folly and stupidity. The negation of knowledge must be the result either of knowledge or of ignorance. Now it is impossible for knowledge to deny knowledge; therefore knowledge cannot be denied except by ignorance, which is nearly akin to infidelity and falsehood; for there is no connexion between ignorance and truth. The doctrine in question is opposed to that of all the Sufi Shaykhs, but is commonly attributed to the Sufis in general by people who have heard it and embraced it. I commit them to God, with

Whom it rests whether they shall continue in their error. If religion takes hold of them, they will behave more discreetly and will not misjudge the Friends of God in this way and will look more anxiously to what concerns themselves. Although some heretics claim to be Sufis in order to conceal their own foulness under the beauty of others, why should it be supposed that all Sufis are like these pretenders, and that it is right to treat them all with disdain and contumely? An individual who wished to pass for learned and orthodox, but really was devoid of knowledge and religion, once said to me in the course of debate: "There are twelve heretical sects, and one of them flourishes amongst those who profess Sufism" (*mutasawwifa*). I replied: "If one sect belongs to us, eleven belong to you; and the Sufis can protect themselves from one better than you can from eleven." All this heresy springs from the corruption and degeneracy of the times, but God has always kept His Saints hidden from the multitude and apart from the ungodly. Well said the eminent spiritual guide, 'Ali b. Bundar al-Sayrafi:[4] "The depravity of men's hearts is in proportion to the depravity of the age."

Now in the following section I will cite some sayings of the Sufis as an admonition to those sceptics towards whom God is favourably inclined.

SECTION

Muhammad b. Fadl al-Balkhi says: "knowledge is of three kinds -- from God, with God, and of God." Knowledge of God is the science of Gnosis (*ilm-i ma'rifat*), whereby He is known to all His prophets and saints. It cannot be acquired by ordinary means, but is the result of Divine guidance and information. Knowledge from God is the science of the Sacred Law (*ilm-i shari'at*), which He has commanded and made obligatory upon us. Knowledge

with God is the science of the "stations" and the "Path" and the degrees of the saints. Gnosis is unsound without acceptance of the Law, and the Law is not practised rightly unless the "stations" are manifested. Abu 'Ali Thaqafi[5] says: Al-ilm hayat al-qalb min al-jahl wa-nir al-ayn min al-zulmat, "Knowledge is the life of the heart, which delivers it from the death of ignorance: it is the light of the eye of faith, which saves it from the darkness of infidelity." The hearts of infidels are dead, because they are ignorant of God, and the hearts of the heedless are sick, because they are ignorant of His Commandments. Abu Bakr Warraq of Tirmidh says: "Those who are satisfied with disputation (kalam) about knowledge and do not practice asceticism (zuhd) become zindiqs (heretics); and those who are satisfied with jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and do not practise abstinence (*wara*) become wicked." This means that Unification (*tawhid*), without works, is predestination (*jabr*), whereas the assertor of Unification ought to hold the doctrine of predestination but to act as though he believed in free will, taking a middle course between free will and predestination. Such is the true sense of another saying uttered by the same spiritual guide, viz.: "Unification is below predestination and above free will."

Lack of positive religion and of morality arises from heedlessness (ghaflat). Well said that great master, Yahya b. Mu'adha al-Razi: "Avoid the society of three classes of men - heedless savants, hypocritical Quran-readers, and ignorant pretenders to Sufi'ism." The heedless savants are they who have set their hearts on worldly gain and paid court to governors and tyrants, and have been seduced by their own cleverness to spend their time in subtle disputations and have attacked the leading authorities on religion. The hypocritical Quran-readers are they who praise whatever is done in accordance with their desire, even if it is bad, and blame whatever they dislike, even if it

is good: they seek to ingratiate themselves with the people by acting hypocritically. The ignorant pretenders to Sufi'ism are they who have never associated with a spiritual director (*pir*), nor learned discipline from a shaykh, but without any experience have thrown themselves among the people, and have donned a blue mantle (*kabudi*), and have trodden the path of unrestraint.

Abu Yazid Bistami says: "I strove in the spiritual combat for thirty years, and I found nothing harder to me than knowledge and its pursuits." It is more easy for human nature to walk on fire than to follow the road of knowledge, and an ignorant heart will more readily cross the Bridge (*Sirat*) a thousand times than learn a single piece of knowledge; and the wicked man would rather pitch his tent in Hell than put one item of knowledge into practice. Accordingly you must learn knowledge and seek perfection therein. The perfection of human knowledge is ignorance of Divine knowledge. You must know enough to know that you do not know. That is to say, human knowledge is alone possible to Man, and humanity is the greatest barrier that separates him from Divinity. As the poet says:-

Al-ajzu 'an daraki' l-idraki idraku
Wa 'l-waqfu fi turuqi 'l-akhyari ishraku.

"True perception is to despair of attaining perception,
But not to advance on the paths of the virtuous is polytheism."

He who will not learn and perseveres in his ignorance is a polytheist, but to the learner, when his knowledge becomes perfect, the reality is revealed, and he perceives that his knowledge is no more than inability to know what his end shall be, since realities are not affected by the names bestowed upon them.

1 The period within which a woman, who has been divorced or whose husband has died, may not marry again.
2 The point to which a Muslim turns his face when worshipping, viz. the Ka'bah.
3 "Time" (waqt) is used by Muhammadan mystics to denote the spiritual the spiritual state in which anyone finds himself, and by which he is dominated at the moment. The expression 'ilm-e waqt occurs again in the notice of Abu Sulayman al-Darani (chapter x,No.17), where waqt is explained as meaning "the preservation of one's spiritual state". According to a definition given by Sahl b. 'Abdullah al-Tustari, waqt is "search for knowledge of the state. i.e. the decision (hukm) of a man's state, which exists between him and God in this world and hereafter".
4 A famous Sufi of Nishapur, who died in 359 A.H. (Nafahat, No.118).
5 Also a native of Nishapur. He died in 328 A.H. (Nafahat, No.248)

CHAPTER II.

ON POVERTY

Know that Poverty has a high rank in the Way of Truth, and that the poor are greatly esteemed, as God said: "(Give alms) unto the poor, who are kept fighting in God's cause and cannot go to and fro on the earth; whom the ignorant deem rich forasmuch as they refrain (from begging)."[1] And again: "Their sides are lifted from their beds while they call on their Lord in fear and hope" (Qur. xxxii,16). Moreover, the Prophet (May peace be upon him) chose poverty and said: "O God, make me live lowly and die lowly and rise from the dead amongst the lowly!" And he also said: "On the day of Resurrection God will say, 'Bring ye My loved ones nigh unto Me;' then the angels will say, 'Who are Thy loved ones?' and God will answer them, saying, 'The poor and destitute.'" There are many verses of the Quran and Traditions to the same effect, which on account of their celebrity need not be mentioned here. Among the Refugees (*Muhajirin*) in the Prophet's time were poor men (*fuqara*) who sat in his mosque and devoted themselves to the worship of God, and firmly believed that God would give them their daily bread, and put their trust (tawakkul) in Him. The Prophet (May peace be upon him) was enjoined to consort with them and take due care of them; for God said: "Do not repulse those who call on their Lord in the morning and in the evening, desiring His favour" (Qur.vi,52). Hence, whenever the Prophet (May peace be upon him) saw one of them, he used to say: "May my father and mother be your sacrifice! since it was for your sakes that God reproached me."

God, therefore, has exalted Poverty and has made it a

special distinction of the poor, who have renounced all things external and internal, and have turned entirely to the Causer; whose poverty has become their pride, so that they lamented its going and rejoiced at its coming, and embraced it and deemed all else contemptible.

Now, Poverty has a form (*rasm*) and an essence (haqiqat). Its form is destitution and indigence, but its essence is fortune and free choice. He who regards the form rests in the form and, failing to attain his object, flees from the essence; but he who has found the essence averts his gaze from all created things, and, in complete annihilation, seeing only the All-One he hastens towards the fullness of eternal life (*ba-fana-yi kull andar ru'yat-i kull ba-baqa-yi kull shitaft*). The poor man (*faqir*) has nothing and can suffer no loss. He does not become rich by having anything, nor indigent by having nothing: both these conditions are alike to him in respect of his poverty. It is permitted that he should be more joyful when he has nothing, for the Shaykhs have said: "The more straitened one is in circumstances, the more expansive (cheerful and happy) is one's (spiritual) state," because it is unlucky for a dervish to have property: if he "imprisons" anything (*dar band kunad*) for his own use, he himself is "imprisoned" in the same proportion. The friends of God live by means of His secret bounties. Wordly wealth holds them back from the path of quietism (*rida*).

Story. A dervish met a king. The king said: "Ask a boon of me." The dervish replied: "I will not ask a boon from one of my slaves." "How is that?" said the king. The dervish said: "I have two slaves who are thy masters: covetousness and expectation."

The Prophet said: "Poverty is glorious to those who are worthy of it." Its glory consists in this, that the poor man's

body is divinely preserved from base and sinful acts, and his heart from evil and contaminating thoughts, because his outward parts are absorbed in (contemplation of) the manifest blessings of God, while his inward parts are protected by invisible grace, so that his body is spiritual (*ruhani*) and his heart divine (*rabbani*). Then no relation subsists between him and mankind: this world and the next weigh less than a gnat's wing in the scales of his poverty: he is not contained in the two worlds for a single moment.

SECTION

The Sufi Shaykhs differ in opinion as to whether poverty or wealth is superior, both being regarded as human attributes; for true wealth (*ghina*) belongs to God, who is perfect in all His attributes. Yahya b. Muadh al-Razi, Ahmad b. Abi 'l-Hawari, Harith al-Muhasibi, Abu 'l-'Abbas b. 'Ata, Ruwaym, Abu 'l-Hasan b. Simun,[2] and among the moderns the Grand Shaykh Abu Said Fadlallah b. Muhammad al-Mayhani, all hold the view that wealth is superior to poverty. They argue that wealth is an attribute of God, whereas poverty cannot be ascribed to Him: therefore an attribute common to God and Man is superior to one that is not applicable to God. I answer: "This community of designation is merely nominal, and has no existence in reality: real community involves mutual resemblance, but the Divine attributes are eternal and the human attributes are created; hence your proof is false." I, who am 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, declare that wealth is a term that may fitly be applied to God, but one to which Man has no right; while poverty is a term that may properly be applied to Man, but not to God. Metaphorically a man is called "rich", but he is not really so. Again, to give a clearer proof, human wealth is an effect due to various causes, whereas the wealth of God, who Himself is the Author of all causes, is not due to any cause. Therefore there is no

community in regard to this attribute. It is not allowable to associate anything with God either in essence, attribute, or name. The wealth of God consists in His independence of anyone and in His power to do whatsoever He wills: such He has always been and such He shall be for ever. Man's wealth, on the other hand, is, for example, a means of livelihood, or the presence of joy, or the being saved from sin, or the solace of contemplation; which things are all of phenomenal nature and subject to change.

Furthermore, some of the vulgar prefer the rich man to the poor, on the ground that God has made the former blest in both worlds and has bestowed the benefit of riches on him. Here they mean by "wealth" abundance of worldly goods and enjoyment of pleasures and pursuit of lusts. They argue that God has commanded us to be thankful for wealth and patient in poverty, i.e. patient in adversity and thankful in propserity; and that prosperity is essentially better than adversity. To this I reply that, when God commanded us to be thankful for prosperity He made thankfulness the means of increasing our prosperity; but when He commanded us to be patient in adversity he made patience the means of drawing nigh unto Himself. He said: "Verily, if ye return thanks, I will give you an increase" (Qur. xiv,7), and also, "God is with the patient" (Qur.ii,148).

The Shaykhs who prefer wealth to poverty do not use the term "wealth" in its popular sense. What they intend is not "acquisition of a benefit" but "acquisition of the Benefactor"; to gain union (with God) is a different thing from gaining forgetfulness (of God). Shaykh Abu Saidi[3] God have mercy on him! - says: "Poverty is wealth in God" (*al-faqr huwa 'l-ghina billah*), i.e. everlasting revelation of the Truth. I answer to this, that revelation (*mukashafat*) implies the possibility of a veil (*hijab*); therefore, if the

person who enjoys revelation is veiled from revelation by the attribute of wealth, he either becomes in need of revelation or he does not; if he docs not, the conclusion is absurd, and if he does need is incompatible with wealth; therefore that term cannot stand. Besides, no one has "wealth in God" unless his atributes are permanent and his object is invariable; wealth cannot coincide with the subsistence of an object or with the affirmation of the attributes of human nature, inasmuchas the essential characteristics of mortality and phenomenal being are need and indigence. One whose attributes still survive is not rich, and one whose attributes are annihilated is not entitled to any name whatever. Therefore "the rich man is he who is enriched by God" (*al-ghani man aghnahu 'llah*), because the term "rich in God" refers to the agent (fa'il) whereas the term "enriched by God" denotes the person acted upon (maful); the former is self-subsistent, but the latter subsists through the agent; accordingly self-subsistence is an attribute of human nature, while subsistence through God involves the annihilation of attributes.I, then, who am 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, assert that true wealth is incompatible with the survival (*baqa*) of any attribute, since human attributes have already been shown to be defective and subject to decay; nor, again, does wealth consist in the annihilation of these attributes, because a name cannot be given to an attribute that no longer exists, and he whose attributes are annihilated cannot be called either "poor" or "rich"; therefore the attribute of wealth is not transferable from God to Man, and the attribute of poverty is not transferable from Man to God.

All the Sufi Shaykhs and most of the vulgar prefer poverty to wealth for the reason that the Quran and the Sunnah expressly declare it to be superior, and therein the majority of Muslims are agreed. I find, amgong the anecdotes which I have read, that on one occasion this question was discussed by Junayd and Ibn 'Ata'. The latter

maintained the superiority of the rich. He argued that at the Resurrection they would be called to account for their wealth, and that such an account (*hisab*) entails the hearing of the Divine Word, without any mediation, in the form of reproach (*'itab*): and reproach is addressed by the Beloved to the lover. Junayd answered: "If He will call the rich the account, He will ask the poor for their excuse; and asking an excuse is better than calling to account." This is a very subtle point. In true love excuse is "otherness" (*beganagi*) and reproach is contrary to unity (*yaganagi*). Lovers regard both these things as a blemish, because excuse is made for some disobedience to the command of the Beloved and reproach is made on the same score; but both are impossible in true love, for then neither does the Beloved require an expiation from the lover nor does the lover neglect to perform the will the Beloved.

Every man is "poor", even though he be a prince. Essentially the wealth of Solomon and the poverty of Solomon are one. God said to Job in the extremity of his patience, and likewise to Solomon in the plenitude of his dominion: "Good servant that thou art!"[4] When God's pleasure was accomplished, it made no difference between the poverty and the wealth of Solomon.

The author says: "I have heard that Abu l-Qasim Qushayri - God have mercy on him! - said: 'People have spoken much concerning poverty and wealth, and have chosen one or the other for themselves, but I choose whichever state God chooses for me and keeps me in; if He keeps me rich I will not be forgetful, and if He wishes me to be poor I will not be covetous and rebellious." Therefore, both wealth and poverty are Divine gifts: wealth is corrupted by forgetfulness, poverty by covetousness. Both conceptions are excellent, but they differ in practice, Poverty is the separation of the heart from all but God, and

wealth is the preoccupation of the heart with that which does not admit of being qualified. When the heart is cleared (of all except God), poverty is not better than wealth nor is wealth better than poverty. Wealth is abundance of worldly goods and poverty is lack of them: all goods belong to God: when the seeker bids farewell to property, the antithesis disappears and both terms are transcended.

SECTION

All the Sufi Shaykhs have spoken on the subject of poverty. I will now cite as many of their sayings as it is possible to include in this book.

One of the moderns says: *Laysa 'l-faqir man khala min al-zad: innama 'l-faqir man khala min al-murad*, "The poor man is not he whose hand is empty of provisions, but he whose nature is empty of desires." For example, if God gives him money and he desires to keep it, then he is rich; and if he desires to renounce it, he is rich no less, because poverty consists in ceasing to act on one's own initiative. Yahya b. Muadh al-Razi says: *Al-faqr khawf al-faqr*, "It is a sign of true poverty that, although one has reached the perfection of saintship and contemplation and self-annihilation, one should always be dreading its decline and departure." And Ruwaym says: Min na't al-faqir hifzu sirrihi wa-siyanatu nafsihi wa-adau faridatihi, "It is characteristic of the poor man that his heart is protected from selfish cares, and that his soul is guarded from contaminations, and that he performs the obligatory duties of religion:" that is to say, his inward meditations do not interfere with his outward acts, nor vice versa; which is a sign that he has cast off the attributes of mortality. Bishr Hafi says: *Afdal al-maqamat i'tiqad al-sabr 'ala'l-faqr ila 'l-qabr*, "The best of 'stations' is a firm resolution to endure poverty continually." Now poverty is the annihilation of all

"stations": therefore the resolution to endure poverty is a sign of regarding works and actions as imperfect, and of aspiring to annihilate human attributes. But in its obvious sense this saying pronounces poverty to be superior to wealth, and expresses a determination never to abandon it. Shibli says: *Al-faqir man la yastaghni bi-shay duna'llah*, "The poor man does not rest content with anything except God," because he has no other object of desire. The literal meaning is that you will not become rich except by Him, and that when you have gained Him you have become rich. Your being, then, is other than God; and since you cannot gain wealth except by renouncing "other", your "you-ness" is a veil between you and wealth: when that is removed, you are rich. This saying is very subtle and obscure. In the opinion of advanced spiritualists (*ahl-i haqiqat*) it means: *Al-faqr* an *la yustaghna 'anhu*, "Poverty consists in never being independent of poverty." This is what the *Pir*, i.e. Master Abdullah Ansari[5] - may God be well-pleased with him! - meant when he said that our sorrow is everlasting, that our aspiration never reaches its goal, and that our sum (*kulliyyat*) never becomes non-existent in this world or the next, because for the fruition of anything homogeneity is necessary, but God has no congener, and for turning away from Him forgetfulness is necessary, but the dervish is not forgetful. What an endless task, what a difficult road! The dead (*fani*) never become living (*baqi*), so as to be united with Him; the living never become dead, so as to approach His presence. All that His lovers do and suffer is entirely a probation (*mihnat*); but in order to console themselves they have invented a fine-sounding phraseology (*'ibarati muzakhraf*) and have produced "stations" and "stages" and a "path". Their symbolic expressions, however, begin and end in themselves, and their "stations" do not rise beyond their own genus, whereas God is exempt from every human attribute and relationship. Abu 'l-Hasan Nuri says: Nat al-faqir al-sukun 'inda 'ladam wa'l-adam wa'l-badhl 'inda'l-

wujud; and he says also: *Al-idtirab 'inda 'l-wujud*, "When he gets nothing he is silent, and when he gets something he regards another person as better entitled to it than himself, and therefore gives it away." The practice enunciated in this saying is of great importance. There are two meanings: (1) His quiescence when he gets nothing is satisfaction (rida), and his liberality when he gets something is love (*mahabbat*), because "satisfied" means "accepting a robe of honour" (*qabil-i khil'at*), and the robe of honour is a token of proximity (*qurbat*), whereas the lover (*muhibb*) rejects the robe of honour in as much as it is a token of severance (*furqat*); and (2) his quieseence when he gets nothing is expectation of getting something, and when he has got it, that "something" is other than God: he cannot be satisfied with anything other than God; therefore he rejects it. Both these meanings are implicit in the saying of the Grand Shaykh, Abu 'l-Qasim Junayd: *Al-faqr khuluww al-qalb 'an al-ashkal*, "When his heart is empty of phenomena he is poor." Since the existence of phenomena is "other" (than God), rejection is the only course possible. Shibli says: Al-faqr bahr al-bala wa-bala uhu kulluhu 'izz, "Poverty is a sea of trouble, and all troubles for His sake are glorious." Glory is a portion of "other". The afflicted are plunged in trouble and know nothing of glory, until they forget their trouble and regard the Author thereof. Then their trouble is changed into glory, and their glory into a spiritual state (*waqt*), and their spiritual state into love, and their love into contemplation, so that finally the brain of the aspirant becomes wholly a centre of vision through the predominance of his imagination: he sees without eye, and hears without ear. Again, it is glorious for a man to bear the burden of trouble laid upon him by his Beloved, for in truth misfortune is glory, and prosperity is humiliation. Glory is that which makes one present with God, and humiliation is that which makes one absent from God: the affliction of poverty is a sign of "presence", while the delight of riches

is a sign of "absence". Therefore one should cling to trouble of any description that involves contemplation and intimacy. Junayd says: *Ya ma'shar al-fuqara innakum tu'rafuna billah wa-tukramuna lillah fa-'nzuru kayfa takununa ma'a 'llah idha khalawtum bihi*, "O ye that are poor, ye are known through God, and are honoured for the sake of God: take heed how ye behave when ye are alone with Him," i.e. if people call you "poor" and recognize your claim see that you perform the obligations of the path of poverty; and if they give you another name, inconsistent with what you profess, do not accept it, but fulfil your professions. The basest of men is he who is thought to be devoted to God, but really is not; and the noblest is he who is not thought to be devoted to God, but really is. The former resembles an ignorant physican, who pretends to cure people, but only makes them worse, and when he falls ill himself needs another physician to prescribe for him; and the latter is like one who is not known to be a physician, and does not concern himself with other folk, but employs his skill in order to maintain his own health. One of the moderns has said: *Al-faqr 'adam bila wujud*, "Poverty is not being without existence." To interpret this saying is impossible, because what is non-existent does not admit of being explained. On the surface it would seem that, according to this dictum, poverty is nothing, but such is not the case; the explanations and consensus of the Saints of God are not founded on a principle that is essentially non-existent. The meaning here is not "the not being of the essence", but "the not being or that which contaminates the essence"; and all human attributes are a source of contamination: when that is removed, the result is annihilation of the attributes (*fana-yi sifat*), which deprives the sufferer of the instrument whereby he attains, or fails to attain, or fails to attain, his object; but his not going to the essence (*'adam-i rawish ba-'ayn*) seems to him annihilation of the essence and casts him into perdition.

I have met with some scholastic philosophers who, failing to understand the drift of this saying, laughed at it and declared it to be nonsense; and also with certain pretenders (to Sufi'ism) who made nonsense of it and were firmly convinced of its truth, although they had no grasp of the fundamental principle. Both parties are in the wrong: one ignorantly denies the truth, and the other makes ignorance a state (of perfection). Now the expressions "not-being" (*'adam*) and "annihilation" (*fana*), as they are used by Sufis, denote the disappearance of a blameworthy instrument (*alat-i madhmum*) and disapproved attribute in the course of seeking a praise-worthy attribute; they do not signify the search for non-reality (*'adam-i mani*) by means of an instrument which exists.

Dervishhood in all its meanings is a metaphorical poverty, and amidst all its subordinate aspects there is a transcendent principle. The Divine mysteries come and go over the dervish, so that his affairs are acquired by himself, his actions attributed to himself, and his ideas attached to himself. But when his affairs are freed from the bonds of acquisition (*kasb*), his action are no more attributed to himself. Then he is the Way, not the wayfarer, i.e. the dervish is a place over which something is passing, not a wayfarer following his own will. Accordingly, he neither draws anything to himself nor puts anything away from himself: all that leaves any trace upon him belongs to the essence.

I have seen false Sufis, mere tonguesters (*arbab al-lisan*), whose imperfect apprehension of this matter seemed to deny the existence of the essence of poverty, while their lack of desire for the reality of poverty seemed to deny the attributes of its essence. They called by the name of "poverty" and "purity" their failure to seek Turth and Reality, and it looked as though they affirmed their own

fancies but denied all else. Every one of them was in some degree veiled from poverty, because the conceit of Sufi'ism (*pindar-i in hadith*) betokens perfection of saintship, and the claim to be suspected of Sufism (*tawalla-yi tuhmat-i in hadith*) is the ultimate goal, i.e. this claim belongs only to the state of perfection. Therefore the seeker has no choice but to journey in their path and to traverse their "stations" and to know their symbolic expressions, in order that he may not be aqplebeian (*ammi*) among the elect.Those who are ignorant of general principles (*'awamm-i usul*) have no ground to stand on, whereas those who are ignorant only as regards the derivative branches are supported by the principles. I have said all this to encourage you to undertake this spiritual journey and occupy yourself with the due fulfilment of its obligations.

Now in the chapter on Sufi'ism I will explain some of the principles and allegories and mystic sayings of this sect. Then I will mention the names of their holy men, and afterwards elucidate the different doctrines held by the Sufi Shaykhs. In the next place, I will treat of the Verities, Sciences, and laws of Sufi'ism. Lastly, I will set forth their rules of discipline and the significance of their "stations", in order that the truth of this matter may become clear to you and to all my readers.

1 Qur.ii,274.
2 See Nafahat, No.291, where his "name of honour" is given as Abu 'l-Husayn.
3 See Chapter XII, No.5.
4 Qur.xxxviii, 29.44.
5 The celebrated mystic of Heart, who died in 481 A.H. See Professor Brown's Literary History of Persia, vol.ii, p.269.

CHAPTER III

ON SUFIISM

God, Almighty and Glorious, has said: "And those who walk meekly on the earth, and when the ignorant speak to them answer 'Peace'," (shall be rewarded with the highest place in Paradise).[1] And the Apostle has said: "He that hears the voice of Sufis (*ahl al-tasawwuf*) and does not say Amen to their prayer is inscribed before God among the heedless." The true meaning of this name has been much discussed and many books have been composed on the subject. Some assert that the Sufi is so called because he wears a woollen garment (jama-i suf); others that he is so called because he is in the first rank (saff-i awwal); others say it is because the Sufis claim to belong to the Ashab-i Suffa,[2] with whom may God be well-pleased! Others, again, declare that the name is derived from *safa* (purity). These explanations of the true meaning of Suffi'ism are far from satisfying the requirements of etymology, although each of them is supported by many subtle arguments. *Safa* (purity) is universally praised, and its opposite is kadar. The Apostle - on whom be peace! - said: "The *safw* (pure part, i.e. the best) of this world is gone, and only its *kadar* (impurity) remains." Therefore, since the people of this persuasion have purged their morals and conduct, and have sought to free themselves from natural taints, on that account they are called Sufis; and this designation of the sect is a proper name (*az asami-yi al'lam*), in as much as the dignity of the Sufis is too great for their transactions (mu'amalat) to be hidden, so that their name should need a derivation. In this age, however, God has veiled most people from Sufi'ism and from its votaries, and has concealed its mysteries from their hearts. Accordingly

some imagine that it consists merely in the practice of outward piety without inward contemplation, and others suppose that it is a form and a system without essence and root, to such an extent that they have adopted the view of scoffers (*ahl-i hazl*) and theologians (*'ulama*), who regard only the external, and have condemned Sufi'ism altogether, making no attempt to discover what it really is. The people in general, blindly conforming to this opinion, have erased from their hearts the quest for inward purity and have discarded the tenets of the Ancients and the Companions of the Prophet (May peace be upon him). Verily, purity is characteristic of the Siddiq,[3] if thou desirest a true Sufi - because purity (safa) has a root and a branch: its root being severance of the heart from "others" (aghyar), and its branch that the heart should be empty of this deceitful world. Both these are characteristic of the Greatest *Siddiq*, (the Caliph) Abu Bakr 'Abdallah b. Abi Quhafa, with whom may God be well-pleased! He is the leader (*imam*) of all the folk of this Path.

[The author then relates how, on Muhammad's decease, when 'Umar threatened to decapitate anyone who asserted that the Prophet (May peace be upon him) was dead, Abu Bakr stepped forth and cried with a loud voice: "Whoever worships Muhamad, let him know that Muhammad is dead; but whoever worships Muhammad's (May peace be upon him) Lord, let him know that He is living and dieth not." Those who regarded Muhammad with the eye of mortality ceased to venerate him as soon as he departed from this world, but to those who regarded him with the eye of reality his presence and absence were alike, because they attributed both to God; and looked, not at the particular change which had come to pass, but at the Author of all change; and venerated Muhammad (May peace be upon him) only in proportion as God honoured him; and did not attach their hearts to anyone (except God);

and did not open their eyes to gaze upon mankind, inasmuch as "he that beholdeth mankind waneth, but he that returneth unto God reigneth" (*man nazara ila'l-khalq halak wa-man reja'a ila 'l-haqq malak*). And Abu Bakr showed that his heart was empty of this deceitful world, for he gave away all his wealth and his clients (*mawali*), and clad himself in a woollen garment (*gilim*), and came to the Apostle, who asked him what he had left for his family. Abu Bakr replied: "Only God and His Apostle." All this is characteristic of the sincere Sufi.]

I said that *safa* (purity) is the opposite of *kadar* (impurity), and *kadar* is one of the qualities of Man. The true Sufi is he that leaves impurity behind. Thus, human nature (*bashariyyat*) prevailed in the women of Egypt as they gazed, enraptured, on the wondrous beauty of Yusuf (Joseph), on whom be peace! But afterwards the preponderance was reversed, until at last they beheld him with their human nature annihilated (*ba-fana-yi bashariyyat*) and cried: "This is no human being" (Qur.xii,31). They made him their object and gave expression to their own state. Hence the Shaykhs of this Path - God have mercy on them! - have said: *Laysa 'l-safa min sifat al-bashar li-anna 'l-bashar madar wa'l-madar la yakhlu min al-kadar*, "Purity is not one of the qualities of Man, for Man is clay, and clay involves impurity, and Man cannot escape from impurity." Therefore purity bears no likeness to acts (*af'al*), nor can the human nature be destroyed by means of effort. The quality of purity is unrelated to acts and states, and its name is unconnected with names and nicknames - purity is characteristic of the lovers (of God), who are suns without cloud - beacuse purity is the attribute of those who love, and the lover is he that is dead (fani) in his own attributes and living (baqi) in the attributes of his Beloved, and their "states" resemble the clear sun in the opinion of mystics (arbab-i hal). The

beloved of God, Muhammad (May peace be upon him) the Chosen One, was asked concerning the state of Haritha. He answered: 'Abd nawwara 'llah qalbalu bi 'l-iman, "He is a man whose heart is illumined by the light of faith, so that his face shines like the moon from the effect thereof, and he is formed by the Divine light." An eminent Sufi says: *Diya al-shams wa'l-tawhid idha 'shtabaka, wa'l-qamar idha 'shtaraka namudhagun min sifa al-hub*" The combination of the light of the sun and moon, when they are in conjunction, is like the purity of Love and Unification, when these are mingled together." Assuredly, the light of the sun and moon is worthless beside the light of the Love and Unification of God Almighty, and they should not be compared; but in this world there is no light more conspicuous than those two luminaries. The eye cannot see the light of the sun and moon with complete demonstration. During the sway of the sun and moon it sees the sky, whereas the heart (*dil*) sees the empyrean (*'arsh*) by the light of knowledge and unification and love, and while still in this world explores the world to come. All the Shaykhs of this Path are agreed that when a man has escaped from the captivity of "stations" (maqamat), and gets rid of the impurity of "states" (ahwal), and is liberated from the abode of change and decay, and becomes endowed with all praiseworthy qualities, he is disjoined from all qualities. That is to say, he is not held in bondage by any praiseworthy quality of his own, nor does he regard it, nor is he made self conceited thereby. His state is hidden from the perception of intelligences, and his time is exempt from the influence of thoughts. His presence (*hudur*) with God has no end and his existence has no cause. And when he arrives at this degree, he becomes annihilated (*fani*) in this world and in the next, and is made divine (*rabbani*) in the disappearance of humanity; and gold and earth are the same in his eyes, and the ordinances which others find hard to keep become easy to him.

[Here follows the story of Haritha, who declared that he had true faith in God. The Prophet (May peace be upon him) asked: "What is the reality of the faith?" Haritha replied: "I have cut off and turned myself away from this world, so that its stones and its gold and its silver and its clay are equal in my sight. And I have passed my nights in wakefulness and my days in thirst until methinks I see the Throne of my Lord manifest and the people of Paradise visiting one another, and the people of Hell wrestling with one another"[4] (or, according to an alternative reading: "making sudden attacks on one another").[5] The Prophet (May peace be upon him) said, repeating the words thrice: "Thou knowest, therefore persevere."]

"Sufi" is a name which is given, and has formerly been given, to the perfect saints and spiritual adepts. One of the Shaykhs says: Man saffahu 'l-hubb fa-huwa saf wa-man saffalu 'l-habib fa-huwa Sufiyy, "He that is purified by love is pure, and he that is absorbed in the Beloved and has abandoned all else is a 'Sufi'." The name has no derivation answering to etymological requirements, in as much as Sufi'ism is too exalted to have any genus from which it might be derived; for the derivation of one thing from another demands homogeneity (mujanasat). All that exists is the oposite of purity (*safa*), and things are not derived from their opposites. To Sufis the meaning of Sufiism is clearer than the sun and does not need any explanation or indication. Since "Sufi" admits of no explanation, all the world are interpreters thereof, whether they recognize the dignity of the name or no at the time when they learn its meaning. The perfect, then, among them are called Sufi, and the inferior aspirants (*taliban*) among them are called *Mutasawwif*; for *tasawwuf* belongs to the form tafa'ul, which implies "taking trouble" (*takalluf*),[6] and is a branch of the original root. The difference both in meaning and in etymology is evident. Purity (safa) is a saintship with a sign

and a relation (*riwayat*), and Sufi'ism (*tasawwuf*) is an uncomplaining imitation of purity (*hikayat li'l-safa bila shikayat*). Purity, then, is a resplendent and manifewt idea, and Sufi'ism is an imitation of that idea. Its followers in this degree are of three kinds: the Sufi, the Mutasawwif, and the *Mustaswif*. The Sufi is he that is dead to self and living by the Truth; he has escaped from the grip of human faculties and has really attained (to God). The *Mutasawwif* is he that seeks to reach this rank by means of self-mortification (*mujahadat*) and in his search rectifies his conduct in accordance with their (the Sufis) example. The *Mustawif* is he that makes himself like them (the Sufis) for the sake of money and wealth and power and worldly advantage, but has no knowledge of these two things.[7] Hence it has been said: *Al-mustaswif 'inda 'l-Sufiyyat ka-'l-dhubab wa-inda ghayrihim ka-l-dhi'ab*, "The Mustaswif in the opinion of the Sufis is as despicable as flies, and his action are mere cupidity; others regard him as being like a wolf, and his speech unbridled (*be afsar*), for he only desires a morsel of carrion." Therefore the Sufi is a man of union (sahib wusul), the *Mutasawwif* a man of principles (sahib usul), and the *Mustaswif* a man of superfluities (sahib fudul). He that has the portion of union loses all end and object by gaining his end and reaching his object; he that has the portion of principle becomes firm in the "states" of the mystic path, and steadfastly devoted to the mysteries thereof; but he that has the portion of superfluity, is left devoid of all (worth having), and sits down at the gate of formality (rasm), and thereby he is veiled from reality (mani), and this veil renders both union and principle invisible to him. The Shaykhs of this persuasion have given many subtle definitions of Sufiism which cannot all be enumerated, but we shall mention some of them in this book, if God will, who is the Author of success.

SECTION

Dhu 'l-Nun, the Egyptian says: Al-Sufi idha nataqa bana nutquhu 'an al-haqaiq wa-in sakata nataqat 'anhu 'l-jawarih bi-qat' al-alaiq, "The Sufi is he whose language, when he speaks, is the reality of his state, i.e. he says nothing which he is not, and when he is silent his conduct explains his state, and his state proclaims that he has cut all worldly ties;" i.e. all that he says is based on a sound principle and all that he does is pure detachment from the world (tajrid); when he speaks his speech is entirely the Truth, and when he is silent his actions are wholly "poverty" (faqr). Junayd says: *Al-tasawwuf natun uqima 'l-abd fihi qila nat li-'l-abd am li-'l-haqq faqala nat al-haqq haqiqat wa-nat al-abd rasman*, "Sufi'ism is an attribute wherein is Man's subsistence." They said: "Is it an attribute of God or of mankind?" He replied: "Its essence is an attribute of God and its formal system is an attribute of mankind;" i.e. its essence involves the annihilation of human qualities, which is brought about by the everlastingness of the Divine qualities, and this is an attribute of God; whereas its formal system involves on the part of Man the continuance of self-mortification (*mujahadah*), and this continuance of self-mortification is an attribute of Man. Or the words may be taken in another sense, namely, that in real Unification (tawhid) there are, correctly speaking, no human attributes at all, because human attributes are not constant but are only formal (*rasm*), having no permanence, for God is the agent. Therefore they are really the attributes of God. Thus (to explain what is meant), God commands His servants to fast, and when they keep the fast He gives them the name of "faster" (*saim*), and nominally this "fasting" (*sawm*) belongs to Man, but really it belongs to God. Accordingly God told His Apostle and said: *Al-sawm li-wa-ana ajzi*

bihi, "Fasting is mine," because all His acts are His possessions, and when men ascribe things to themselves, the attribution is formal and metaphorical, not real. And Abu 'l-Hasan Nuri says: *Al-tasawwuf tarku kulli hazz li-'l-nafs*, "Suffi'ism is the renunication of all selfish pleasures." This Renunciation is of two kinds: formal and essential. For example, if one renounces a pleasure, and finds pleasure in the renunciation, this is formal renunciation; but if the pleasure renounces him, then the pleasure is annihilated, and this case falls under the head of true contemplation (mushahadah). Therefore renunciation of pleasure is the act of Man, but annihilation of pleasure is the act of God. The act of Man is formal and metaphorical, while the act of God is real. This saying (of Nuri) elucidates the saying of Junayd which has been quoted above. And Abu 'l-Hasan Nuri also says: *Al-Sufiyyat humu 'lladhina safat arwahuhum fa-saru fi 'l-saff al-awwal bayna yadayi 'l-haqq*, "The Sufis are they whose spirits have been freed from the pollution of humanity, purified from carnal taint, and released from concupiscence, so that they have found rest with God in the first rank and the highest degree, and have fled from all save Him." And he also says: *Al-Sufi alladhi la yamlik wa-la yumlak*, "The Sufi is he that has nothing in his possession nor is himself possessed by anything." This denotes the essence of annihilation (*fana*), since one whose qualities are annihilated neither possesses nor is possessed, inasmuch as the term "possession" can properly be applied only to existent things. The meaning is, that the Sufi does not make at his own any good of this world or any glory of the next world, for he is not even in the possession and control of himself: he refrains from desiring authority over others, in order that others may not desire submission from him. This saying refers to a mystery of the Sufis which they call "complete annihilation" (*fana-yi kulli*). If God will, we shall mention in this work, for your information, the points wherein they

have fallen into error.

Ibn al-Jalla[8] says: *Al-tasawwuf haqiqat la rasm lahu* "Sufi'ism is an essence without form," because the form belongs to mankind in respect to their conduct (muamalat), while the essence thereof is peculiar to God. Since Sufiism consists in turning away from mankind, it is necessarily without form. And Abu 'Amr Dimashqi says: *Al-tasawwuf ru'yat al-kawn bi'ayn al-naqs, bal ghadd al-tarf 'an al-kawn*, "Sufi'ism is: to see the imperfection of the phenomenal world (and this shows that human attributes are still existent), nay, to shut the eye to the phenomenal world" (and this shows that human attributes are annihilated; because the objects of sight are phenomena, and when phenomena disappear, sight also disappears). Shutting the eye to the phenomenal world leaves the spiritual vision subsistent, i.e. whoever becomes blind to self sees by means of God, because the seeker of phenomena is also a self seeker, and his action proceeds from and through himself, and he cannot find any way of escaping from himself. Accordingly one sees himself to be imperfect, and one shuts his eye to self and does not see; and although the seer sees his 'imperfection, nevertheless his eye is a veil, and he is veiled by his sight, but he who does not see is not veiled by his blindness. This is a well established principle in the Path of aspirants to Sufi'ism and mystics (*arbab-i maani*), but to explain it here would be unsuitable. And Abu Bakr Shibli says: *Al-tasawwuf shirk li'annahu siyanat al-qalb 'an ruyat al-ghayr wa-la ghayr*, "Sufi'ism is polytheism, because it is the guarding of the heart from the vision of 'other', and 'other' does not exist." That is to say, vision of other (than God) in affirming the Unity of God is polytheism, and when "other" has no value in the heart, it is absurd to guard the heart from remembrance of "other". And Husri says: *Al-tasawwuf safa al-sirr min kudurat al-mukhalafat*, "Sufi'ism

is the heart's being pure from the pollution of discord." The meaning thereof is that he should protect the heart from discord with God, because love is concord, and concord is the opposite of discord, and the lover has but one duty in the world, namely, to keep the commandment of the beloved; and if the object of desire is one, how can discord arise? And Muhammad b. 'Ali b. al-Husayn b. 'Ali b. Abi Talib - may God be pleased with them all! - says: *Al-tasawwuf khulq fa-man zada 'alayka fi'l-khulq zada 'alayka fi 'l-tasawwuf,* "Sufi'ism is goodness of disposition: he that has the better disposition is the better Sufi." Now goodness of disposition is of two kinds: towards God and towards men. The former is acquiescence in the Divine decrees, the latter is endurance of the burden of men's society for God's sake. These two aspects refer to the seeker (talib). God is independent of the seeker's acquiescence or anger, and these two qualities depend on consideration of His Unity. And Abu Muhammad Murta'ish says: Al-Sufi la yasbiqu himmatuhu khatwatahu, "The Sufi is he whose thought keeps pace with his foot," i.e. he is entirely present: his soul is where his body is, and his body where his soul is, and his soul where his foot is, and his foot where his soul is. This is the sign of presence without absence. Others say, on the contrary: "He is absent from himself and present with God." It is not so: he is present with himself and present with God. The expression denotes perfect union (jam'al-jam), because there can be no absence from self so long as one regards one's self; when self regard has ceased, there is presence (with God) without absence. In this particular sense the saying closely resembles that of Shibli: Al-Sufi la yara fi 'l-darayn maa 'llah ghayra 'llah, "The Sufi is he that sees nothing except God in the two worlds." In short, human existence is "other", and when a man does not see "other" he does not see himself; and becomes totally void of self, whether "self" is affirmed or denied. And *Junayd says: Al-tasawwuf mabniyy ala thaman khisal al-sakha wa*

'l-rida wa 'l-sabr wa 'l-isharat wa 'l-ghurbat wa-labs al-suf wa 'l-siyahat wa 'l-faqr amma 'l-sakha fa-li-Ibrahim wa-amma 'l-rida fa-li-Ismail wa-amma 'l-sabr fa-li-Ayyub wa-amma 'l-isharat fa-li-Zakariyya wa-amma. 'l-ghurbat fa-li-Yahya wa-amma labs al-suf fa-li-Musa waama 'l-siyahat fa-li-Isa wa-amma 'l-faqr fa-li-Muhammad salla 'llahu 'alayhi wa-sallama wa-alayhim ajmain, Sufi'ism is founded on cight qualities cxemplified in eight Apostlcs: the generosity of Abraham,who sacrified his son; the acquiescence of Ishmael, who submitted to the command of God and gave up his dear life; the patience of Job, who patiently endured the affliction of worms and the jealousy of the Merciful; the symbolism of Zacharias, to whom God said, 'Thou shalt not speak unto men for three days save by signs' (Qur.iii,36), and again to the same effect, 'When he called upon his Lord with a secret invocation' (Qur.xix,2): the strangerhood of John, who wa a stranger in his own country and an alien to his own kin amongst whom he lived; the pilgrimhood of Jesus, who was so detached therein from worldly things that he kept only a cup and a comb - the cup he threw away when he saw a man drinking water in the palms of his hands, and the comb likewise when he saw another man using his fingers instead of a toothpick; the wearing of wool by Moses, whose garment was woolen; and the poverty of Muhammad (May peacc be upon him), to whom God Almighty sent the key of all the treasures that are upon the face of the earth, saying: 'Lay no trouble on thyself, but procure every luxury by means of these treasures; and he answered: 'O Lord, I desire them not, keep mc one day full-fed and one day hungry.'" These are very excellent principles of conduct.

And Husri says: *Al-Sufi la yujadu ba'da 'adamihi wa-la yudamu bada wujudihi*, "The Sufi is he whose existence is without non-existence and his non-existence without existence," i.e. he never loses that which he finds, and he

never finds that which he loses. Another meaning is this, that his finding (*yaft*) has no not finding (*na-yaft*), and his not finding has no finding at any time, so that there is either an affirmation without negation or a negation without affirmation. The object of all these expressions is that the Sufi's state of mortality should entirely lapse, and that his bodily feelings (*shawahid*) should disappear and his connexion with everything be cut off, in order that the mystery of his mortality may be revealed and his various parts united in his essential self, and that he may subsist through and in himself. The effect of this can be shown in two Apostles: firstly, Moses, in whose existence there was no non-existence, so that he said: "O Lord, enlarge my breast and make my affair easy unto me" (Qur. xx,26,27); secondly, the Apostle (Muhammad), in whose non existence there was no existence, so that God said: "Did not We enlarge thy breat?" (Qur.xciv,I). The one asked for adornment and sought honour, but the other was adorned, since he had no request to make for himself.

And 'Ali b. Bundar al-Sayrafi of Nishapur says: *Al-tasawwuf isqat al-ru'yat li-'lhaqq zahir wa-batin*, Sufi'ism is this, that the Sufi should not regard his own exterior and interior, but should regard all as belonging to God." Thus, if you look at the exterior, you will find an outward sign of God's blessing, and, as you look, outward actions will not have the weight even of a gnat's wing beside the blessing of God, and you will cease from regarding the exterior; and again, if you look at the interior, you will find an inward sign of God's aid, and, as you look, inward actions will not turn the scale by a single grain in comparison with the aid of God, and you will cease from regarding the interior, and wjll see that all belongs to God; and when you see that all is God's, you will see that you yourself have nothing.

Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Muqri[9] says: Al-tasawwuf

istiqamat al-ahwal ma'a 'l-haqq, "Sufi'ism is the maintenance of right states with God," i.e. "states" do not seduce the Sufi from his (right) state, nor cast him into wrong, since he whose heart is devoted to the Author of states (muhawwil-i ahwal) is not cast down from the rank of rectitude nor hindered from attainig to the Truth.

SECTION

Maxims of Conduct (muamalat)

Abu Hafs Haddad of Nishapur says: Al-tasawwuf kulluhu adab li-kulli waqt adab wa-li-kulli maqam adab wa-li-kulli hal adab fa-man lazima addab al-awqat balagha mablagh al-rijal fa-man dayya'a 'l-addab fa-huwa baid min haythu yazunnuu 'l-qurb wa-mardud min haythu yazunnu 'l-qabul, "Sufi'ism consists entirely of behaviour; every time, place, and circumstance have their own propriety; he that observes the proprieties of each occasion attains to the rank of holy men; and he that neglects the proprieties is far removed from the thought of nearness (to God) and is excluded from imagining that he is acceptable to God." The meaning of this is akin to the dictum of Abu 'l-Hasan Nuri: *Laysa 'l-tasawwuf rusum wa-la ulum wa-lakinnahu akhlaq*, "Sufi'ism is not composed of practices and sciences, but it is morals," i.e. if it consisted of practices, it could be acquired by effort, and if it consisted of sciences, it could be gained by instruction: hence it is morals, and it is not acquired until you demand from yourself the principles of morals, and make your actions square with them, and fulfil their just claims. The distinction between practics (*rusum*) and morals (*akhlaq*) is this, that practices are ceremonial actions proceeding from certain motives, actions devoid of reality, so that their form is at variance with their spirit, whereas morals are praiseworthy actions without ceremony or motive, actions devoid of pretension, so that their form is in harmony with their spirit.

mystics (ahrar), the earnestness of the latter is not thereby turned to folly. And Abu Ali Qarmini[10] says: Al-Tasawwuf huwa 'l-akhlaq al-radiyyat, "Sufi'ism is good morals. Approved actions are such that the creature in all circumstances approves of God, and is content and satisfied. Abu'l Hasan Nuri says: Al-tasawwuf huwa 'l-hurriyyat wa-'l-futuwwat wa-tark al-taklif wa-'l-sakha , "Sufism is liberty, so that a man is freed from the bonds of desire; and generosity," i.e. he is purged from the conceit of generosity; "and abandonment of useless trouble," i.e. he does not strive after apportenances and rewards; and munificene," i.e. he leaves this world to the people of this world.

And Abu 'l-Hasan Fushanja[11] - may God have mercy on him! - says: Al-tasawwuf al-yawma 'smun wa-la haqiqat waqad kana haqiqat wa-la 'smun, "Today Sufism is a name without a reality, but formerly it an was a reality without a name," i.e. in the time of the Companions and the Ancients -- may God have mercy on them! -- this name did not exist, but the reality thereof was in everyone; now the name exists, but not the reality. That is to say, formerly the practice was known and the pretence unknown, but nowadays the pretence is known and the practice unknown.

I have brought together and examined in this chapter on Sufi'ism a number of the sayings of the Shaykhs, in order that this Path may become clear to you -- God grant you felicity! - and that you may say to the sceptics:"What do you mean by denying the truth of Sufi'ism?" If they deny only the name it is no matter, since ideas are unrelated to things which bear names; and if they deny the essential ideas, this amounts to a denial of the whole Sacred Law of the Apostle and his praised qualities. And I enjoin you in this book - God grant you the felicity with which He has blessed His Saints! -- to hold these ideas in due regard and

'Umar b. al-Khattab, and the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali, and Harim b. Hayyan relate that they saw Uways Qarani with a woollen garment on which patches were inserted. Hasan of Basra and Malik Dinar and Sufyan Thawri were ownors of woollen patched frocks. And it is related of the Imam Abu Hanifa of Kufa - this is written in the History of the Shaykhs composed by Muhammad b. 'Ali Hakim tirmidhi - that he at first clothed himself in wool and was on the point of retiring from the world, when he saw in a dream the Apostle, who said: "It behoves thee to live amidst the people, because thou art the means whereby my Sunnah will be revived." Then Abu Hanifa refrained from solitude, but he never put on a garment of any value. And Dawud Tai, who was one of the veritable adepts among the aspirants to Sufi'ism (*yaki az muhaqqiqan-i mutasawwifa*), enjoined the wearing of wool. And Ibrahim the son of Adham came to visit the most venerable Imam Abu Hanifa, clad in a garment of wool. The latter's disciples looked at him with contempt and disparagement, until Abu Hanifa said: "Our lord Ibrahim b. Adham has come." The disciples said: "The Imam utters no jests: how has he gained this lordship?" Abu Hanifa replied: "By continual devotion. He has been occupied in serving God while we have been engaged in serving our own bodies. Thus he has become our lord."

It may well be the case that at the present day some persons wear patched frocks and religious habits (*muraqqa'at u khiraq*) for the sake of public honour and reputation, and that their hearts belie their external garb; for there may be but one champion in a host, and in every sect the genuine adepts are few. People, however, reckon as Sufis all who resemble the Sufis even in a single rule. the Apostle said: *Man tashabbaha bi-qawmin fa-huwa minhum*, "He that makes himself akin to a party either in conduct or in belief, is one of that party."But while some

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satisfy their just claims, so that you may refrain from idle pretensions and have an excellent belief in the Sufis themselves. It is God that gives success.

1 Qur.xxv,64.
2 See Chapter IX.
3 The name zaddiq (an Aramaic word meaning "righteous") was given to the ascetics and spiritual adepts among the Manichaeans. Its Arabic equivalent, saddiq, which means "veracious", is a term that is frequently applied to Sufis.
4 Yatasara'un. B. has yata'adawn, and in marg. Yatasara'un. The true reading is yata'awawn, "barking (or 'growling') at one another." Cf. Lisan, xix,343,3.
5 Yataghawarun. This is the reading of J., I. Has yata'awarun, L. yata'awadun, B. yataghamazun, and in marg. Yatafawazun.
6.Examples of this signification of the form ta'a"ul are given in Wright's Arabic Grammar, vol.i, p.37, Rem.b.
7. Viz. purity (safa) and Sufi'ism (tasawwuf)
8 So J. The Lahore edition has Ibn al-Jalali, I. Ibn al-Jullabi. See Cahpter X. No.34.
9 Died in 366 A.H. See Nafahat, No.332.
10 I J. Qazwiui. B. Abu 'Ali Kirmanshahi Qurayshi. The Shaykh in question is probably Muzaffar Kirmanshahi Qarmini (Nafahat, No.270)
11 Generally written "Fushanji". See Nafahat, No.279.

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CHAPTER IV

ON THE WEARING OF PATCHED FROCKS
(Muraqqaat)

Know that the wearing of a muraqqa'a (patched frock) is the badge of aspirants to Sufi'ism. The wearing of these garments is a Sunnah (custom of Prophet), for the Apostle said: *'Alaykum bi-labs al-suf tajiduna halawat al-iman fi qulubikum.* And, further, one of the Companions says: Kana 'l-nabi salla 'llah 'alayhi wa-sallama yalbasu 'l-suf wa-yarkabu 'l-himar. And, moreover, the Apostle said to 'A'isha: *La tudayyi'i'l-thawb hatta turaqqi'ihi.* He said: "See that ye wear wollen raiment, that ye may feel the sweetness of faith." And it is related that the Apostle wore a garment of wool and rode on an ass, and that he said to 'A'isha: "O 'A'isha, do not let the garment be destroyed, but patch it." 'Umar, the son of Khattab, wore, it is said, a muraqqa'a with thirty patches inserted on it. Of 'Umar, too, we are told that he said: "The best garment is that which gives the least trouble" (ki ma'unat'i an sabuktar buvad). It is related of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali, that he had a shirt of which the sleeves were level with his fingers, and if at any time he wore a longer shirt he used to tear off the ends of its sleeves. The Apostle also was commanded by God to shorten his garments, for God said: "And purify thy garments" (Qur. lxxiv,4), i.e. shorten them. And Hasan of Basra says: "I saw seventy comrades who fought at Badr: all of them had woollen garments; and the greatest Siddiq (Abu Bakr) wore a garment of wool in his detachment from the world" (tajrid). Hasan of Basra says further: "I saw Salman (al-Farisi) wearing a woollen frock (gilim) with patches." The Commander of the Faithful,

regard only the outward forms of their practice, others direct attention to their spirit of inward purity.

Those who wish to associate with aspirants to Sufi'ism fall into four classes: (1) He whose purity, enlightenment, subtlety, even balance of temperament, and soundness of character give him insight into the hearts of the Sufis, so that perceives the nearness of their spiritual adepts to God and the loftness of their eminent men. He joins himself to them in hope of attaining to the same degree, and the beginning of his novitiate is marked by revelation of "states" (*kashf-i-ahwal*), and purgation from desire, and renunciation of self. (2) He whose health of body and continence of heart and quiet peace of mind enable him to see their outward practice, so that he fixes his gaze on their observance of the holy law and of the different sorts of discipline, and on the excellence of their conduct: consequently he seeks to associate with them and give himself up to the practice of piety, and the beginning of his novitiate is marked by self-mortification (*mujahadat*) and good conduct. (3) He whose humanity and custom of social intercourse and goodness of disposition cause him to consider their actions and to see the virtue of their outward life: how they treat their superiors with respect and their inferiors with generosity and their equals as comrades, and how untroubled they are by thoughts of worldly ambition, and makes himself at leisure one of the good. (4) He whose tupidity and feebleness of soul -- his love of power without merit and of distinction without knowledge -- lead him to suppose that the outward actions of the Sufis are everything. When he enters their company they treat him kindly and indulgently, although they are convinced that he is entirely ignorant of God and that he has never striven to advance upon the mystic path. Therefore he is honoured by the people as if he were a real adept and is venerated as if he were one of God's saints, but his object is only to

assume their dress and hide his deformity under their piety. He is like an ass laden with books (Qur. lxxii, 5). In this age the majority are impostors such as have been described. Accordingly, it behoves you not to seem to be anything except what you really are. It is inward glow (*hurqat*) that makes the Sufi, not the religious habit (*khirqat*). To the true mystic there is no difference between the mantle (*'aba*) worn by dervishes, and the coat (*qaba*) worn by ordinary people. An eminent Shaykh was asked why he did not wear a patched frock (*muraqqa'a*). He replied: "It is hypocrisy to wear the garb of the Sufis and not to bear the burdens which Sufism entails." If, by wearing this garb, you wish to make known to God that you are one of the elect, God knows that already; and if you wish to show to the people that you belong to God, should your claim be true, you are guilty of ostentation; and should it be false, of hypocrisy. The Sufis are too great to need a special garment for this purpose. Purity (*safa*) is a gift from God, whereas wool (suf) is the clothing of animals. The Sufi Shaykhs enjoined their disciples to wear patched frocks, and did the same themselves, in order that they might be marked men, and that all the people might keep watch over them: thus if they committed a transgression, every tongue would rebuke them, and if they wished to sin while clad in this garment, they would be held back by shame. In short, the *muraqqa'a* is the garb of God's saints. The vulgar use it merely as a means of gaining worldly reputation and fortune, but the elect prefer contumely to honour, and affliction to prosperity. Hence it is said "the *muraqqa'a* is a garb of happiness for the vulgar, but a mail-coat (*jawshan*) of affliction for the elect." You must seek what is spiritual, and shun what is external. The Divine is veiled by the human, and that veil is annihilated only by passing through the "states" and "stages" of the mystic Way. Purity (*safa*) is the name given to such annihilation. How can he who has gained it choose one garment rather than another, or take

pains to adorn himself at all? How should he care whether people call him a Sufi or by some other name?

SECTION

Muraqqa'as should be made with a view to ease and lightness, and when the original cloth is torn a patch should be inserted. There are two opinions of the Shaykhs as to this matter. Some hold that it is improper to sew the patch on neatly and accurately, and that the needle should be drawn through the cloth at random,[1] and that no trouble should be taken. Others again hold that the stitches should be straight and regular, and that it is part of the practice of the dervishes to keep the stitches straight and to take pains therein; for sound practice indicates sound principles.

Now I, who am 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, asked the Grand Shaykh, Abu 'l-Qasim Gurgani at Tus, saying: "What is the least thing necessary for a dervish in order that he may become worthy of poverty?" He replied: "A dervish must not have less than three things: first, he must know how to sew on a patch rightly; second, he must know how to listen rightly; third, he must know how to set his foot on the ground rightly." A number of dervishes were present with me when he said this. As soon as we came to the door each one began to apply this saying to his own case, and some ignorant fellows fastened on it with avidity. "This," they cried, "is poverty indeed," and most of them were hastening to sew patches on nicely and to set their feet on the ground correctly; and everyone of them imagined that he knew how to listen to sayings on Sufi'ism. Wherefore, since my heart was devoted to that Sayyid, and I was unwilling that his words should fall to the ground, I said: "Come, let each of us say something upon this subject." So everyone stated his views, and when my turn came I said: "A right patch is one that is stitched for poverty, not for

show; if it is stitched for poverty, it is right, even though it be stitched wrong. And a right word is one that is heard esoterically (*ba-hal*), not wilfully (*ba-munyat*), and is applied earnestly, not frivolously, and is apprehended by life, not by reason. And a right foot is one that is put on the ground with true rapture, not playfully and formally." Some of my remarks were reported to the Sayyid Abu 'l-Qasim Gurgani), who said: "Ali has spoken well -- God reward him!" The aim of this sect in wearing patched frocks is to alleviate the burden of this world and to be sincere in poverty towards God. It is related in the genuine Traditions that Jesus, son of Mary -- God bless him! -- was wearing a *muraqqa'a* when he was taken up to heaven. A certain Shaykh said: "I dreamed that I saw him clad in a woollen patched frock, and light was shining from evey patch. I said: '*O Messiah*, what are these lights on the garment?' He answered: 'The lights of necessary grace; for I sewed on each of those patches through necessity, and God Almighty hath turned into a light every tribulation which He inflicted on my heart."

I saw in Transoxania an old man who belonged to the sect of Malamatis. He neither ate nor wore anything in which human beings had a hand. His food consisted of things thrown away by men, such as putried vegetables, sour gourds, rotten carrots, and the like. His clothes were made of rags which he had made a *muraqqa'a*. And I have heard that among the mystics of recent times there was an old man of flourishing condition (*qawi hal*) and of excellent character, living at Marv al-Rud, who had sewn so many patches, without taking pains, on his prayer-rug and cap, that scorpions brought forth their young in them. And my Shaykh - may God be well pleased with him! - wore for fifty one years a single cloak (*jubba*), on which he used to sew pieces of cloth without taking any pains. I have found the following tale among the anecdotes of the (holy)

men of 'Iraq. There were two dervishes, one a votary of the contemplative life (*sahib mushahadat*) and the other a votary of purgative life. The former never clothed himself except in the pieces of cloth which were torn off by dervishes in a state of ecstasy (sama) from their own garments, while the other used for the same purpose only the pieces torn off by dervishes who were asking forgiveness: thus the outward garb of each was in harmony with his inward disposition. This is observance of the "state" (*pas dashtan-i hal*). Shaykh Muhammad b. Khafif wore a coarse woollen frock (palas) for twenty years, and every year he used to undergo four fasts of forty days' duration (*chilla*), and every forty days he would compose a work on the mysteries of the Sciences of the Divine Verities. In his time there was an old man,[2] one of the adepts learned in the Way (Tariqat) and the Truth (Haqiqat), who resided at Parg[3] in Fars and was called Muhammad b. Zakariyya.[4] He had never worn a *muraqqa'a*. Now Shaykh Muhammad b. Khafif was asked: "What is involved in wearing a *muraqqa'a*, and who is permitted to do so?" He replied: "It involves those obligations which are fulfilled by Muhammad b. Zakariyya in his white shirt, and the wearing of such a frock is permitted to him."

SECTION

It is not the way of the Sufis to abandon their customs. If they seldom wear garments of wool at the present day, there are two reasons for this fact: (1) that wools have deteriorated (*pashmha shurida shuda ast*) and the animals (which produce wool) have been carried off from one place to another by raiders; and (2) that a sect of heretics has adopted the woollen garment as a badge (*shi'ar*). And it is praiseworthy to depart from the badge of heretics even although one departs at the same time from a traditional

practice (sunnah).

To take pains (*takalluf*) in sewing *muraqqa'as* is considered allowable by the Sufis because they have gained a high reputation among the people; and since many imitate them and wear *muraqqa'as*, and are guilty of improper acts, and since the Sufis dislike the society of others than themselves -- for these reasons they have invented a garb which none but themselves can sew, and have made it a mark of mutual acquaintance and a badge. So much so that when a certain dervish came to one of the Shaykhs wearing a garment on which the patch had been sewn with too wide stitches (*khatt ba-pahna awarda bud*) the Shaykh banished him from his presence. The argument is that purity (safa) is founded on delicacy of nature and fineness of temperament, and undoubtedly crookedness is one's nature is not good. it is natural to disapprove of incorrect actions, just as it is natural to derive no pleasure from incorrect poetry.

Others, again, do not trouble themselves about clothes at all. They wear either a religious habit (*'aba*) or an ordinary coat (*qaba*), whichever God may have given them; and if He keeps them naked, they remain in that state. I, who am 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, approve of this doctrine, and I have practised it in my journeys. It is related that Ahmad b. Khadruya wore a coat when he visited Abu Yazid, and that Shah b. Shuja wore a coat when he visited Abu Hafs. This was not their usual dress; for sometimes they wore a *muraqqa'a* and sometimes a woollen garment or a white shirt, as it might happen. The human soul is habituated to things, and fond of custom, and when anything has become habitual to the soul it soon grows natural, and when it has grown natural it becomes a veil. Hence the Apostle said: *Khayr al-siyam sawm akhi Dawud 'alayhi 'l-salam*, "The best of fasts is that of my brother David." They said: "O Apostle of God, what kind of fast is

that?" He replied: "David used to keep his fast one day and break it on the next day," in order that his soul should not become accustomed either to keeping the fast or to breaking it, for fear that he might be veiled thereby. And, as regards this matter, Abu Hamid Dustan[5] of Merv was the most sound. His disciples used to put a garment on him, but those who wanted it used to seek him out when he was at leisure and alone, and divest him of it; and he would never say to the person who put it on him: "Why do you put it on?" nor to the person who took it off: "Why do you take it of?" Moreover, at the present day there is at Ghazna -- may God protect it! -- an old man with the sobriquet *Mu'ayyad*, who has no choice or discrimination with respect to his clothes; and he is sound in that degree.

Now, as to their garments being mostly blue (*kabud*), one of the reasons is that they have made wandering (*siyahat*) and travelling the foundation of their Path; and on journeys a white garment does not retain its original appearance, and is not easily washed, and besides, everyone covets it. Another cause is this, that a blue dress is the badge of the bereaved and afflicted, and the apparel of mourners; and this world is the abode of trouble, the pavilion of affliction, the den of sorrow, the house of parting, the cradle of tribulation: the (Sufi) disciples, seeing that their heart's desire is not to be gained in this world, have clad themselves in blue and have sat down to mourn union (with God). Others behold in the practice (of devotion) only imperfection, in the heart only evil, in life only loss of time: therefore they wear blue; for loss (fawt) is worse than death (mawt) One wears blue for the death of a dear friend, another for the loss of a cherished hope.

A dervish was asked why he wore blue. He replied: "The Apostle left three things: poverty, knowledge, and the sword. The sword was taken by potentates, who misused it;

knowledge was chosen by savants, who were satisfied with merely teaching it; poverty was chosen by dervishes, who made it a means of enriching themselves. I wear blue as a sign of mourning for the calamity of these three classes of men." Once Murta'ish was walking in one of the quarters of Baghdad. Being thirsty, he went to a door and asked for a drink of water. The daughter of the householder brought him some water in a jug. Murta'ish was smitten with her beauty and would not leave the spot until the master of the house came to him. "O sir," cried Murta'ish, "she gave me a drink of water and robbed me of my heart." The householder replied: "She is my daughter, and I give her to you in marriage." So Murta'ish went into the house, and the wedding was immediately solemnized. The bride's father, who was a wealthy man, sent Murta'ish to the bath, where they took off his patched frock (*muraqqa'a*) and clothed him in a night-dress. At nightfall he rose to say his prayers and engage in solitary devotion. Suddenly he called out, "Bring my patched frock." They asked, "What ails you?" He answered, "I heard a voice within, whispering: 'On account of one disobedient look We have removed thy muraqqa'a, the garb of piety, from the body: if thou lookest again We shall remove the raiment of intimacy from thy heart." Only two kinds of men are fitted to wear the muraqqa'a: (1) those who are cut off from the world, and (2) those who feel a longing for the Lord (*mushtaqan-i mawla*).

The Sufi Shaykhs observe the following rule. When a novice joins them, with the purpose of renouncing the world, they subject him to spiritual discipline for the space of three years. If he fulfils the requirements of this discipline, well and good; otherwise, they declare that he cannot be admitted to the Path (*Tariqat*). The first year is devoted to service of the people, the second year to service of God, and the third year to watching over his own heart.

He can serve the people only when he places himself in the rank of servants and all other people in the rank of masters, i.e. he must regard all, without any discrimination, as being better than himself, and must consider it his duty to serve all alike; not in such a way as to deem himself superior to those whom he serves, for this is manifest perdition and evident fraud, and is one of the infectious cankers of the age (*az afat-i zamana andar zamana yaki inast*). And he can serve God Almighty only when he cuts off all his selfish interests relating either to this world or to the next, and worships God absolutely for His sake alone, inasmuch as whoever worships God for any thing's sake worships himself and not God. And he can watch over his heart only when his thoughts are collected and cares are dismissed from his heart, so that in the presence of intimacy (with God) he preserves his heart from the assaults of heedlessness. When these three qualifications are possessed by the novice, he may wear the muraqqa'a as a true mystic, not merely as an imitator of others.

Now as to the person who invests the novice with the muraqqa'a, he must be a man of rectitude (*mustaqim al-hal*) who has traversed all the hills and dales of the Path, and tasted the rapture of "states" and perceived the nature of actions, and experienced the severity of the Divine majesty and the clemency of the Divine beauty. Futhermore, he must examine the state of his disciples and judge what point they will ultimately reach: whether they will retire (*raji'an*), or stand still (*waqifan*), or attain (*balighan*). If he knows that some day they will abandon this Path, he must forbid them to enter upon it; if they will come to a stand, he must enjoin them to practise devotion; and if they will reach the goal, he must given them spiritual nourishment. The Sufi Shaykhs are physicians of men's souls. When the physician is ignorant of the patients malady he kills him by his art, because he does not know how to treat him and

does not recognize the symptoms of danger, and prescribes food and drink unsuitable to his disease. The Apostle said: "The shaykh in his tribe is like the prophet in his nation." Accordingly, as the prophets showed insight in their call to the people, and kept everyone in his due degree, so the Shaykh likewise should show insight in his call, and should give to everyone his proper spiritual food, in order that the object of his call may be secured.

The adept, then, who has attained the perfection of saintship takes the right course when he invests the novice with the muraqqa'a after a period of three years during which he has educated him in the necessary discipline. In respect of the qualifications which it demands, the *muraqqa'a* is, comparable to a winding-sheet (*kafan*): the wearer must resign all his hopes of the pleasures of life, and purge his heart of all sensual delights, and devote his life entirely to the service of God and completely renounce selfish desires. Then the Director (*Pir*) ennobles him by clothing him in that robe of honour, while on his part fulfils the obligations which it involves, and strives with all his might to perform them, and deems it unlawful to satisfy his own wishes.

Many allegories (isharat) have been uttered concerning the muraqqa'a Shaykh Abu Ma'mar of Isfahan has written a book on the subject, and the generality of aspirants to Sufi'ism display much extravagance (*ghuluww*) in this matter. My aim, however, in the present work is not to relate sayings, but to elucidate the difficulties of Sufi'ism. The best allegory concerning the *muraqqa'a* is this, that its collar (*qabba*) is patience, its two sleeves fear and hope, its two gussets (*tiriz*) contraction and dilation, its belt self-abnegation, its hem (kursi)[6] soundness in faith, its fringe (*farawiz*) sincerity. Better still is the following: "Its collar is annihilation of intercourse (with men), its two sleeves are

observance (hifz) and continence (ismat), its two gussets are poverty and purity, its belt is persistence in contemplation, its hem (*kursi*) is tranquility in (God's) presence, and its fringe is settlement in the abode of union." When you have made a *murraqqa'a* like this for your spiritual self it behoves you to make one for your exterior also. I have composed a separate book on this subject, entitled "The Mysteries of Patched Frocks and Means of Livelihood" (Asrar al-khiraq wa-'l-ma'unat), of which the novice should get a copy.

If the novice, having donned the *muraqqa'a*, should be forced to tear it under compulsion of the temporal authority, this is permissible and excusable; but should he tear it of free will and deliberately, then according to the law of the sect he is not allowed to wear a *muraqqa'a* in future, and if he do so, he stands on the same footing as those in our time who are content to wear *muraqqa'as* for outward show, with no spiritual meaning. As regards the rending of garments the true doctrine is this, that when Sufis pass from one stage to another they immediately change their dress in thankfulness for having gained a higher stage; but whereas every other garment is the dress of a single stage, the *muraqqa'a* is a dress which comprises all the stages of the Path of poverty and purity, and therefore to discard it is equivalent to renouncing the whole Path. I have made a slight allusion to this question, although this is not the proper place for it, in order to settle the particular point at issue; but, please God, I will give a detailed explanation of the principle in the chapter on rending (*kharq*), and in the revelation of the mystery of "audition" (*sama*). Furthermore, it has been said that one who invests a novice with the *muraqqa'a* should possess such sovereign mystical powers that any stranger on whom he looks kindly should become a friend, and any sinner whom he clothes in this garment should become a saint.

Once I was travelling with my Shaykh in Adharbayajan, and we saw two or three persons wearing *muraqqa'as*, who were standing beside a wheat barn and holding up their skirts in the hope that the farmer would throw them some wheat. On seeing this the Shaykh exclaimed: "Those are they who have purchased error at the price of true guidance, but their traffic has not been profitable" (Qur. ii,15). I asked him how they had fallen into this calamity and disgrace. He said: "Their spiritual directors were greedy to gather disciples, and they themselves are greedy to collect worldly goods." It is related of Junayd that he saw at the Bab al-Taq[7] a beautiful Christian youth and said: "O Lord, pardon him for my sake, for Thou hast created him exceeding fair." After a while the youth came to Junayd and made profession of Islam and was enrolled among the saints Abu 'Ali Siyah was asked: "Who is permitted to invest novices with the *muraqqa'a*?" He replied: "That one who oversees the whole kingdom of God, so that nothing happens in the world without his knowledge."

1 Literally, "in whatever place it raises its head."
2 This story is related in 'Attar's Tadhkirat al-Awliya (pt.ii, p.125, l. 17 sqq.), where it is expressly said that the old jman was dnot "learned in the Way".
3 I. In margin has Park. The Nuzhat al-Qulub gives the name as (Bark), and refers it to a village in the district of Kirman.
4 B., I., and J. have Dhakariyya (Zakariyya), L. The MSS. of the Tadhkirat al-Awliya vary between Dhakiri and.
5 See Nafahat, No.350.
6 This conjectnral translation of kursi was suggested to me by Colonel Ranking. The dictionaries give uo explanation of the word as it is nsed here.
7 A gate in the eastern quarter of Baghdad.

CHAPTER V

ON THE DIFFERENT OPINIONS HELD CONCERNING POVERTY AND PURITY

The Doctors of the Mystic Path are not agreed as to the respective merits of Poverty (*faqr*) and Purity (*safwat*). Some hold that Poverty is more perfect than Purity. Poverty, they say, is complete annihilation in which every thought ceases to exist, and Purity is one of the "stations" (*maqamat*) of Poverty: when annihilation is gained, all "stations" vanish into nothing. This is ultimately the same question as that touching Poverty and Wealth, which has already been discussed. Those who set Purity above Poverty say that Poverty is an existent thing (*shay ast mawjud*) and is capable of being named, whereas Purity is the being pure (*safa*) from all existing things: safa is the essence of annihilation (*fana*), and Poverty is the essence of subsistence (*baqa*): therefore Poverty is one of the names of "stations",. but Purity is one of the names of perfection. This matter has been disputed at great length in the present age, and both parties have resorted to far-fetched and amazing verbal subtleties; but it will be allowed on all sides that Poverty and Purity are not mere words and nothing else. The disputants have made up a doctrine out of words and have neglected to apprehend meanings: they have abandoned discussion of the Truth.Negation of arbitrary will they call negation of essence, and affirmation of desire they regard as affirmation of essence. The Mystic Path is far removed from such idle fictions. In short, the Saints of God attain to a place where place no longer exists, where

all degrees and "stations" disappear, and where outward expressions fall off from the underlying realities, so that neither "spiritual delight: (*shurb*) is left, nor "tast" (*dhawq*), nor "sobriety" (sahw), nor "effacement" (*mahw*). These controversialists, seek a forced name with which to cloak ideas that do not admit of being named or of being used as attributes; and everyone applies to them whatever name he thinks most estimable. Now, in dealing with the ideas themselves, the question of superiority does not arise, but when names are given to them, one will necessarily be preferred to another. Accordingly, to some people the name of Poverty seemed to be superior and of greater worth because it is connected with renunciation and humility, while others preferred Purity, and held it the more honourable because it comes nearer to the notion of discarding all that contaminates and annihilating all that has a taint of the world. They adopted these two names as symbols of an inexpressible idea, in order that they might converse with each other on that subject and make their own state fully known; and there is no difference of opinion in this sect (the Sufis), although some use the term "Poverity" and others the term "Purity" to express the same idea. With the verbalists (*ahl-i 'ibarat*), on the contrary, who are ignorant of the true meaning of these ideas, the whole question is an affair of words. To conclude, whoever has made that idea his own and fixed his heart upon it, heeds not whether they call him "Poor" (*faqir*) or "Pure" (Sufi), since both these appellations are forced names for an idea that cannot be brought under any name.

This controversy dates from the time of Abu 'l-Hasan Sumnun. He, on occasions when he was in a state of revelation (*kashf*) akin to subsistence (*baqa*), used to set Poverty above Purity; and on being asked by spiritualists (*arbab-i maani*) why he did so, he replied: "In as much as I naturally delight in annihilation and abasement, and no less

in subsistence and exaltation, I prefer Purity to Poverty when I am in a state akin to annihilation, and Poverty to Purity when I am in a state akin to subsistence; for Poverty is the name of subsistence and Purity that of annihilation. In the latter state I annihilate from myself the sight (consciousness) of subsistence, and in the former state I annihilate from myself the sight of annihilation, so that may nature becomes dead both to annihilation and to subsistence." Now this, regarded as an explanation (*'ibarat*), is an excellent saying, but neither annihilation or subsistence can be annihilated: every subsistent thing that suffers annihilation is annihilated from itself, and every annihilated thing that becomes subsistent is subsistent from itself. Annihilation is a term of which it is impossible to speak hyperbolically. If a person syas that annihilation is annihilated, he can only be expressing hyperbolically the non-existence of any vestige of the idea of annihilation; but so long as any vestige of existence remains, annihilation has not yet come to pass; and when it has been attained, the "annihilation" thereof is nothing but self-conceit flattered by meaningless phrases. In the vanity and rashness of youth I composed a discourse of this kind, entitled the "Book of Annihilation and Subsistence" (*Kitab-i Fana u Baqa*), but in the present work I will set forth the whole matter with caution, please God the Almighty and Glorious.

This is the distinction between Purity and Poverty in the spiritual sense. It is otherwise when Purity and Poverty are considered in their practical aspect, namely, the denuding one's self of worldly things (*tajrid*) and the casting away of all one's possessions. Here the real point is the difference between Povery (*faqr*) and Lowliness (*maskanat*). Some Shaykhs assert that the Poor (*faqir*) are superior to the Lowly (*miskin*), because God has said, "the poor who are straitened in the way of Allah, unable to go to and fro on the earth" (Qur.ii,274): the Lowly possess means

of livelihood, which the Poor renounce: therefore Poverty is honour and Lowliness abasement, for, according to the rule of the Mystic Path, he who possesses the means of livelihood is base, as the Apostle said: "Woe befall those who worship the dinar and the dirhem, woe befall those who worship garments with a nap!" He who renounces the means of livelihood is honoured, inasmuch as he depends on God, while he who has means depends on them. Others, again, declare the Lowly to be superior, because the Apostle said: "Let me live lowly, and let me die lowly, and raise me from the dead among the lowly!" whereas, speaking of Poverty, he said, "Poverty is near to being unbelief." On this account the Poor are dependent on a means, but the Lowly are independent. In the domain of Sacred Law, some divines hold that the Poor are those who have a sufficiency (*sahib bulgha*), and the Lowly those who are free from worldly cares (*mujarrad*); but other divines hold the converse of this view. Hence the name "Sufi" is given to the Lowly by followers of the Path (*ahl-i maqamat*) who adopt the former opinion: they prefer Purity (*safwat*) to Poverty. Those Sufis who accept the latter view prefer Poverty to Purity, for a similar reason.

CHAPTER VI

ON BLAME (Malamat)

The path of Blame has been trodden by some of the Sufi Shaykhs. Blame has a great effect in making love sincere. The followers of the Truth (*ahl-i haqq*) are distinguished by their being the objects of vulgar blame, especially the eminent ones of this community. The Apostle, who is the exemplar and leader of the adherents of the Truth, and who marches at the head of the lovers (of God), was honoured and held in good repute by all until the evidence of the Truth was revealed to him and inspiration came upon him. Then the people loosed their tongues to blame him. Some said, "He is a soothsayer;" others, "He is a poet;" others, "He is a madman;" others, "He is a liar;" and so forth. And God says, describing the true believers: "They fear not the blame of anyone; that is the grace of God which He bestows on whomsoever He pleases; God is bounteous and wise" (Qur.v,59). Such is the ordinance of God, that He causes those who discourse of Him to be blamed by the whole world, but preserves their hearts from being pre-occupied by the world's blame. This He does in His jealously: He guards His lovers from glancing aside to "other" (*ghayr*), lest the eye of any stranger should behold the beauty of their state; and He guards them also from seeing themselves, lest they should regard their own beauty and fall into self-conceit and arrogance. Therefore He hath set the vulgar over them to loose the tongues of blame against them, and hath made the "blaming soul" (*nafs-i lawwama*) part of their composition, in order that they may be blamed by others for whatever they do, and by themselves for doing evil or for doing good imperfectly.

Now this is a firm principle in the Way to God, for in this Path there is no taint or veil more difficult to remove than self-conceit. God in His kindness hath barred the way of error against His friends. Their actions, however good, are not approved by the vulgar, who do not see them as they really are; and they themselves do not regard their works of mortification, however numerous, as proceeding from their own strength and power: consequently they are not pleased with themselves and are protected from self-conceit. Whoever is approved by God is disapproved by the vulgar, and whoever is elected by himself is not among the elect of God. Thus Iblis was approved by mankind and accepted by the angels, and he was pleased with himself; but since God was not pleased with him, their approval only brought a curse upon him. Adam, on the other hand, was disapproved by the angels, who said: "Wilt Thou place there [on the earth] one who will do evil therein?" (Qur.ii,28), and was not pleased with himself, for he said: "O Lord, we have done ourselves a wrong" (Qur.vii,22); but since God was pleased with him, the disapproval of the angels and his own displeasure bore the fruit of mercy. Let all men, therefore, know that those accepted by us are rejected by the people, and that those accepted by the people are rejected by us. Hence the blame of mankind is the food of the friends of God, because it is a token of Divine approval; it is the delight of the saints of God, because it is a sign of nearness to Him: they rejoice in it even as other men rejoice in popularity. There is a Tradition, which the Apostle received from Gabriel, that God said: "My friends (saints) are under My cloak: save Me, none knoweth them except My friends."

SECTION

Now blame (*malamat*) is of three kinds: it may result (1) from following the right way (*malamat-i rast raftan*), or (2) from an intentional act (*malamat-i qasd kardan*), or (3) from abandonment of the law (*malamat-i tark kardan*). In the first case, a man is blamed who minds his own business and performs his religious duties and does not omit any practice of devotion: he is entirely indifferent to the behaviour of the people towards him. In the second case a man is greatly honoured by the people and pointed out among them: his heart inclines to the honour in which he is held, and becomes attached to those by whom it is bestowed: he wishes to make himself independent of them and devote himself wholly to God; therefore he purposely incurs their blame by committing some act which is offensive to them but which is no violation of the law: in consequence of his behaviour they wash their hands of him. In the third case, a man is driven by his natural infidelity and erroneous beliefs to abandon the sacred law and abjure its observances, and say to himself, "I am treading the path of blame:" in this case his behaviour depends on himself alone.

He who follows the right way and refuses to act hypocritically, the and refrains from ostentation, pays no heed to the blame of the vulgar, but invariabley takes his own course: it is all one to him what name they call him by. I find among the anecdotes (of holy men) that one day Shaykh Abu Tahir Harami was seen in the bazaar, riding a donkey and attended by one of his disciples. Some person cried out, "here comes that old freethinker!" The indignant disciple rushed at the speaker, trying to strike him, and the whole bazaar was filled with tumult. The Shaykh said to his disciple: "If you will be quiet, I will show you something that will save you from trouble of this sort." When they returned home, he bade the disciple bring a certain box, which contained letters, and told him to look at them.

"Observe," he said, "how the writers address me. One calls me 'the Shaykh of Islam', another 'the pure Shaykh', another 'the ascetic Shaykh', another 'the Shaykh of the two Sanctuaries', and so on. They are all titles, there is no mention of my name. I am none of these things, but every person gives me the title which accords with his belief concerning me. If that poor fellow did the same just now, why should you quarrel with him?"

He who incurs blame purposely and resigns honour and withdraws from authority is like the Caliph 'Uthman who, although he possessed four hundred slaves, one day came forth from his plantation of date palms carrying a bundle of firewood on his head. On being asked why he did this, he answered: "I wish to make trial of myself." He would not let the dignity which he enjoyed hinder him from any work. A similar tale related of the Imam Abu Hanifa will be found in this treatise. And a story is told about Abu Yazid, that, when he was entering Rayy on his way from the Hijaz, the people of that city ran to meet him in order that they might show him honour. Their attentions distracted him and turned his thoughts away from God. When he came to the bazaar, he took a loaf from his sleeve and began to eat. They all departed, for it was the month of Ramadan. He said to a disciple who was travelling with him: "You see! as soon as I perform a single article of the law,[1] they all reject me." In those days it was necessary, for incurring blame, to do something disapproved or extraordinary; but in our time, if anyone desires blame, he need only lengthen a little his voluntary prayers or fulfil the religious practices which are prescribed: at once everybody will call him a hypocrite and imposter.

He who abandons the law and commits an irreligious act, and says that he is following the rule of "blame", is guilty of manifest wrong and wickedness and self-indulgence. There are many in the present age who seek

popularity by this means, forgetting that one must already have gained popularity before deliberately acting in such a way as to make the people reject him; otherwise, his making himself unpopular is a mere pretext for winning popularity. On a certain occasion I was in the company of one of these vain pretenders. He committed a wicked act and excused himself by saying that he did it for the sake of blame. One of the party said, "That is nonsense." He heaved a sigh. I said to him: "If you claim to be a Malamati and are firm in your belief, this gentleman's disapproval of what you have done ought to encourage you to preserve; and since he is seconding you in your chosen course, why are you so unfriendly and angry with him? Your behaviour is more like pretence than pursuit of blame. Whoever claims to be guided by the Truth must give some proof of his assertion, and the proof consists in observing the Sunnah (Ordinances of the Prophet). You make this claim, and yet I see that you have failed to perform an obligatory religious duty. Your conduct puts you outside the pale of Islam."

SECTION

The doctrine of Blame was spread abroad in this sect by the Shaykh of his age, Hamdun Qassar. He has many find sayings on the subject. It is recorded that he said: *Al-malamat tark al-salamat*, "Blame is the abandonment of welfare." If anyone purposely abandons his own welfare and girds himself to endure misfortune, and renounces his pleasures and familiar ties, in hope that the glory of God will be revealed to him, the more he is separated from mankind the more he is united to God. Accordingly, the votaries of Blame turn their backs on that thing, namely welfare (*salamat*), to which the people of this world turn their faces, for the aspirations of the former are Unitarian (*wahdani*). Ahmad b. Fatik relates tht Husayn b. Mansur, in

reply to the question "Who is the Sufi?" said: "He who is single in essence" (*wahdani al-dhat*). Hamdun also said concerning Blame: "It is a hard way for the vulgar to follow, but I will tell one part thereof: the *Malamati* is characterized by the hope of the Murjites and the fear of the Qadarites". This saying has a hidden meaning which demands explanation. It is the nature of man to be deterred by popularity more than any other thing from seeking access to God. Consequently he who fears this danger is always striving to avoid it, and there are two perils which confront him: firstly, the fear that he may be veiled from God by the favour of his fellow creatures; and secondly, the fear of committing some act for which the people will blame him and thereby fall into sin. Accordingly, the Malamati must, in the first instance, take care to have no quarrel with the people for what they say of him, either in this world or the next, and for the sake of his own salvation he must commit some act which, legally, is neither a great sin (*kabira*) nor a trivial offence (*saghira*), in order that the people may reject him. Hence his fear in matters of conduct is like the fear of the Qadarites, and his hope in dealing with those who blame him is like the hope of the Murjites. In true love there is nothing sweeter than blame, because blame of the Beloved makes no impression on the lower's heart: he heeds not what strangers say, for his heart is ever faithful to the object of his love.

"*'Tis sweet to be reviled for passion's sake.*"

This sect (the Sufis) are distinguished above all creatures in the universe by choosing to be blamed in the body on account of the welfare of their souls; and this high degree is not attained by the Cherubim or any spiritual beings, nor has it been reached by the ascetics, devotees, and seekers of God belonging to the nations of antiquity,

but it is reserved for those of this nation who journey on the path of entire severance from the things of the world.

In my opinion, to seek Blame is mere ostentation, and ostentation is mere hypocrisy. the ostentatious man purposely acts in such a way as to win popularity, while the *Malamati* purposely acts in such a way that the people reject him. Both have their thoughts fixed on mankind and do not pass beyond that sphere. The dervish, on the contrary, never even thinks of mankind, and when his heart has been broken away from them he is as indifferent to their reprobation as to their favour: he moves unfettered and free. I once said to a Malamati of Transoxania, with whom I had associated long enough to feel at my ease: "O brother, what is your object in these perverse actions?" He replied: "To make the people non-existent in regard to myself." "The people," I said, "are many, and during a lifetime you will not be able to make them non existent in regard to yourself; rather make yourself non-existent in regard to the people, so that you may be saved from all this trouble. Some who are occupied with the people imagine that the people are occupied with them. If you wish no one to see you, do not see yourself. Since all your evils arise from seeing yourself, what business have you with others? If a sick man whose remedy lies in abstinence seeks to indulge his appetite, he is a fool." Others, again, practise the method of Blame from an ascetic motive: they wish to be despised by the people in order that they may mortify themselves, and it is their greatest delight to find themselves wretched and abased. Ibrahim b. Adham was asked, "Have you ever attained your desire?" He answered: "Yes, twice; on one occasion I was in a ship where nobody knew me. I was clad in common clothes and my hair was long, and my guise was such that all the people in the ship mocked and laughed at me. Among them was a buffoon, who was always coming and pulling my hair and tearing it

out, and treating me with contumely after the manner of his kind. At that time I felt entirely satisfied, and I rejoiced in my garb. My joy reached its highest pitch one day when the buffoon rose from his place and *super me minxit*. One the second occasion I arrived at a village in heavy rain, which had soaked the patched frock on my body, and I was overcome by the wintry cold. I went to a mosque, but was refused admittance. The same thing happened at three other mosques where I sought shelter. In despair, as the cold strengthened its grip on my heart, I entered a bathhouse and drew my skirt close up to the stove. The smoke enveloped me and blackened my clothes and my face. Then also I felt entirely satisfied."

Once I, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, found myself in a difficulty. After many devotional exercises undertaken in the hope of clearing it away. I repaired -- as I had done with success on a former occasion -- to the tomb of Abu Yazid, and stayed beside it for a space of three months, performing every day three ablutions and thirty purifications in the hope that my difficulty might be removed. It was not, however; so I departed and journeyed towards Khurasan. One night I arrived at a village in that country where there was a convent (*khanaqah*) inhabited by a number of aspirants to Sufi'ism. I was searing a dark-blue frock (*muraqqa'-i khishan*), such as is prescribed by the Sunnah;[2] but I had with me nothing of the Sufi's regular equipment (*alat-i ahl-i rasm*) except a staff and a leathern water-bottle (rakwa). I appeared very contemptible in the eyes of these Sufis, who did not know me. They regarded only my external habit and said to one another, "This fellow is not one of us." And so in truth it was: I was not one of them, but I had to pass the night in that place. They lodged me on a roof, while they themselves went up to a roof above mine, and set before me dry bread which had turned green, while I was drawing into my nostrils the savour of the viands

with which they regaled themselves. All the time they were addressing derisive remarks to me from the roof. When they finished the food, they began to pelt me with the skins of the melons which they had eaten, by way of showing how pleased they were with themselves and how lightly they thought of me. I said in my heart: "O Lord God, were it not that they are wearing the dress of Thy friends, I would not have borne this from them." And the more they scoffed at me the more glad became my heart, so that the endurance of this burden was the means of delivering me from that difficulty which I have mentioned; and forthwith I perceived why the Shaykhs have always given fools leave to associate with them and for what reason they submit to their annoyance.

1 Abu Yazid, being at that time on a journey, was not legally bound to observe the fast.
2 I. Adds iu margin "for travellers".

CHAPTER VII

CONCERNING THEIR IMAMS WHO BELONGED TO THE COMPANIONS

1. THE CALIPH ABU BAKER, THE VERACIOUS (al-Siddiq)

He is placed by the Sufi Shaykhs at the head of those who have adopted the contemplative life (*mushahadat*), on account of the fewness of the stories and traditions which he related; while 'Umar is placed at the head of those who have adopted the purgative life (*mujahadat*), because of his rigour and assiduity in devotion. It is written among the genuine Traditions, and is well known to scholars, that when Abu Bakr prayed at night he used to recite the Quran in a low voice, whereas 'Umar used to recite in a loud voice. The Apostle asked Abu Bakr why he did this. Abu Bakr replied: "He with whom I converse will hear." 'Umar, in his turn, replied: "I wake the drowsy and drive away the Devil." The one gave a token of contemplation, the other of purgation. Now purgation, compared with contemplation, is like a drop of water in a sea, and for this reason the Apostle said that 'Umar, the glory of Islam, was only (equivalent to) a single one of the good deeds of Abu Bakr (*hal anta illa hasanat min hasanati Abi Bakr*). It is recorded that Abu Bakr said: "Our abode is transitory, our life therein is but a loan, our breaths are numbered, and our indolence is manifest." By this he signified that the world is too worthless to engage our thoughts; for whenever you occupy yourself with what is perishable, you are made blind to that which is eternal: the friends of God turn their backs on the world and the flesh which veil them from Him, and they decline to act as if they were owners of a thing that is really

the property of another. And he said: "O God, give me plenty of the world and make me desirous of renouncing it!" This saying has a hidden sense, viz.: "First bestow on me worldly goods that I may give thanks for them, and then help me to abstain from them for Thy sake, so that I may have the treble merit of thanks giving and liberality and abstinence, and that my poverty may be voluntary, not compulsory." These words refute the Director of mystical practice, who said: "He whose poverty is compulsory is more perfect than he whose poverty is voluntary; for if it be compulsory, he is the creature (*san'at*) of poverty, and if it be voluntary, poverty is his creature; and it be better that his actions should be free from any attempt to gain poverty for himself than that he should seek to acquire it by his own effort." I say in answer to this: The creature of poverty is most evidently that person who, while enjoying independence, is possessed by the desire for poverty, and labours to recover it from the clutches of the world; not that person who, in the state of poverty, is possessed by the desire for independence and has to go to the houses of evildoers and the courts of governors for the sake of earning money. The creature of poverty is he who falls from independence to poverty, not he who, being poor, seeks to become powerful. Abu Bakr is the foremost of all mankind after the prophets, and it is not permissible that anyone should take precedence of him, for he set voluntary poverty above compulsory poverty. This doctrine is held by all the Sufi Shaykhs except the spiritual Director whom we have mentioned.

Zuhri relates that, when Abu Bakr received the oaths of allegiance as Caliph, he mounted the pulpit and pronounced an oration, in the course of which he said: "By God, I never coveted the command nor desired it even for a day or a night, nor ever asked God for it openly or in secret, nor do I take any pleasure in having it." Now, when God

causes anyone to attain perfect sincereity and exalts him to the rank of fixity (*tamkin*) he waits for Divine inspiration, that it may guide him; and according as he is bidden, he will be either a beggar or a prince, without exercising his own choice and will. Thus Abu Bakr, the Veracious, resigned himself to the will of God from first to last. Hence the whole sect of Sufis have made him their pattern in stripping themselves of worldly things, in fixity (*tamkin*), in eager desire for poverty, and in longing to renounce authority. He is the Imam of the Muslims in general, and of the Sufis in particular.

2. THE CALIPH 'UMAR B. AL-KHATTAB

He was specially distinguished by sagacity and resolution, and is the author of many fine sayings on Sufi'ism. The Apostle said: "The Truth speaks by the tongue of 'Umar;" and again, "There have been inspired relaters (*muhaddathun*) in the peoples of antiquity, and if there be any such in my people, it is 'Umar." 'Umar said: "Retirement ('uzlat) is a means of relieving one's self from bad company. Retirement is of two sorts: firstly turning back on mankind (I'rad az khalq), and secondly, entire severance from them (inqita' azishan). Turning one's back on mankind consists in choosing a solitary retreat, and in renouncing the society of one's fellow creatures externally, and in quiet contemplation of the faults in one's own conduct and `in seeking release for one's self from intercourse with men, and in making all people secure from one's evil actions. But severance from mankind is a spiritual state, which is not connected with anything external. When a person is severed from mankind in spirit, he knows nothing of created beings and no thought thereof can take possession of his mind. Such a person, although he is living among the people, is isolated from them, and his spirit dwells apart from them. This is a very exalted station.

'Umar followed the right path herein, for externally he lived among the people as their Commander and Caliph. His words show clearly that although spiritualists may outwardly mix with mankind, their hearts always cling to God `and return to Him in all circumstances. They regard any intercourse they may have with men as an affliction sent by God; and that intercourse does not divert them from God, since the world never becomes pure in the eyes of those whom God loves. 'Umar said: "An abode which is founded upon affliction cannot possibly be without affliction." The Sufis make him their model in wearing a patched frock (*muraqqa'a*) and rigorously performing the duties of religion.

3. THE CALIPH 'UTHMAN B. 'AFFAN

It is related by 'Abdallah b. Rabah and Abu Qatada as follows: "We were with the Commander of the Faithful, 'Uthman, on the day when his house was attacked. His slaves, seeing the crowd of rebels gathered at the door, took up arms. 'Uthman said: 'Whoever of you does not take up arms is a free man.' We went forth from the house in fear of our lives. Hasan b. 'Ali met us on the way, and we returned with him to 'Uthman, that we might know on what business he was going. After he had saluted 'Uthman and condoled with him he said: 'O Prince of the Faithful, I dare not draw sword against Muslims without thy command. Thou art the true Imam. Give the order and I will defend thee' 'Uthman replied: 'O my cousin, go back to thy house and sit there until God shall bring His decree to pass. We do not wish to shed blood.'"

These words betoken resignation in the hour of calamity, and show that the speaker had attained the rank of friendship with God (*khullat*). Similarly, when Nimrod lit a fire and put Abraham in the sling (*pala*)[1] of a catapult,

Gabriel came to Abraham and said, "Dost thou want anything?" He answered, "From thee, no," Gabriel said, "Then ask God." He answered, "Since He knows in what plight I am I need not ask Him." Here 'Uthman was in the position of the Friend (*Khalil*)[2] in the catapult, and the seditious mob was in the place of the fire, and Hasan was in the place of Gabriel; but Abraham was saved, while 'Uthman perished. Salvation (*najat*) is connected with subsistence (*baqa*) and destruction (*halak*) with annihilation (*fana*): on this topic something has been said above. The Sufis take 'Uthman as their exemplar in sacrificing life and property, in resigning their affairs to God, and in sincere devotion.

4. THE CALIPH 'ALI B. ABI TALIB

His renown and rank in this Path (of Sufi'ism) were very high. He explained the principles (*usul*) of Divine truth with exceeding subtlety, so that Junayd said: "Ali is our Shaykh as regards the principles and as regards the endurance of affliction," i.e. in the theory and practice of Sufism; for Sufis call the theory of this Path "principles" (usul), and its practice consists entirely in the endurance of affliction. It is related that some one begged 'Ali to give him a precept (*wasiyyat*). 'Ali replied: "Do not let your wife and children be your chief cares; for if they be friends of God, God will look after His friends, and if they are enemies of God, why should you take care of God's enemies?" This question is connected with the severance of the heart from all things save God, who keeps His servants in whatever state He willeth. Thus Moses left the daughter of Shu'ayb[3] in a most miserable plight and committed her to God; and Abraham took Hagar and Ishmael and brought them to a barren valley and committed them to God. Both these prophets, instead of making wife and child their chief care, fixed their hearts on God" (*ghana al-qalb billah*). The

heart that is so enriched is not made poor by having no worldly goods nor glad by having them. This subject really turns on the theory regarding poverty and purity, which has been already discussed. 'Ali is a model for the Sufis in respect to the truths of outward expressions and the subtleties of inward meanings, the stripping one's self of all property either of this world or of the next, and consideration of the Divine providence.

1 Arabic kiffat. See Dozy, Supplement, ii, 476.
2 Abraham is called by Muslims "the Friend of God" (al-Khalil).
3 Moses is said to have married one of the daughters of Shu'ayb. See Qur.xxviii, 22-8, where Shu'ayb, however, is not mentioned by name.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCERNING THEIR IMAMS WHO BELONGED TO THE HOUSE OF THE PROPHET

1. HASAN B. 'ALI

He was profoundly versed in Sufism. He said, by way of precept: "See that ye guard your hearts, for God knows your secret thoughts." "Guarding the heart" consists in not turning to others (than God) and in keeping one's secret thoughts from disobedience to the Almighty. When the Qadarites got the upper hand, and the doctrine of Rationalism became widely spread, Hasan of Basra wrote to Hasan b. 'Ali begging for guidance, and asking him to state his opinion on the perplexing subject of predestination and on the dispute whether men have any power to act (istita'at). Hasan b. 'Ali replied that in his opinion those who did not believe in the determination (*qadar*) of men's good and evil actions by God were infidels, and that those who imputed their sins to God were miscreants, i.e. the Qadarites deny the Divine providence, and the Jabarites impute their sins to God; hence men are free to acquire their actions according to the power given them by God, and thus our religion takes the middle course between free will and predestination. I have read in the Anecdotes that when Hasan b. 'Ali was seated at the door of his house in Kufa, a Bedouin came up and reviled him and his father and his mother. Hasan rose and said: "O Bedouin, perhaps you are hungry or thirsty, or what ails you?" The Bedouin took no heed, but continued to abuse him. Hasan ordered his slave to bring a purse of silver, and gave it to the fellow, saying: "O Bedouin, excuse me, for there is nothing else in

the house; had there been more, I should not have grudged it to you." On hearing this, the Bedouin exclaimed: "I bear witness that thou art the grandson of the Apostle of God. I came hither to make trial of thy mildness." Such are the true saints and Shaykhs who care not whether they are praised or blamed, and listen calmly to abuse.

2. HUSAYN B. 'ALI

He is the martyr of Karbala, and all Sufis are agreed that he was in the right. So long as the Truth was apparent, he followed it; but when it was lost he drew the sword and never rested until he sacrified his dear life for God's sake. The Apostle distinguished him by many tokens of favour. Thus 'Umar b. al-Khattab relates that one day he saw the Apostle crawling on his knees, while Husayn rode on his back holding a string, of which the other end was in the Apostle's mouth. 'Umar said: "What anexcellent camel thou hast, O father of Abdallah!" The Apostle replied: "What an excellent rider is he, O 'Umar!" It is recorded that Husayn said: "Thy religion is the kindest of brethren towards thee," because a man's salvation consists in following religion, and his perdition in disobeying it.

3. 'ALI B. HUSAYN B. 'ALI, CALLED ZAYN AL-ABIDIN

He said that the most blessed man in this world and in the next is he who, when he is pleased, is not led by his pleasure into wrong, and when he is angry, is not carried by his anger beyond the bounds of right. This is the character of those who have attained perfect rectitude (*kamal-i mustaqiman*). Husayn used to call him 'Ali the Younger ('Ali Asghar). When Husayn and his children were killed at Karbala, there was none left except 'Ali to take care of the women; and he was ill. The women were brought unveiled

on camels to Yazid b. Mu'awiya - may God curse him, but not his father! -- at Damascus. Some one said to 'Ali: "How are ye this morning, O 'Ali and O members of the House of Mercy?" 'Ali replied: "We are in the same position among our people as the people of Moses among Pharaoh's folk, who slaughtered their sons and took their women alive; we do not know morning from evening on account of the reality of our affliction."

[The author then relates the well-known story of Hisham b. 'Abd al-Malik's encounter with 'Ali b. Husayn at Makkah - how the Caliph, who desired to kiss the Black Stone but was unable to reach it, saw the crowd immediately make way for 'Ali and retire to a respectful distance; how a man of Syria asked the Caliph to tell him the name of this person who was held in so great veneration; how Hisham feigned ignorance, for fear that his partisans should be shaken in allegiance to himself; and how the poet Farazdaq stepped forward and recited the splendid encomium beginning -- [1]

"This is he whose footprint is known to the valley of Mecca,
He whom the Ka.aba knows, and the unhallowed territory and the holy ground.
This is the son of the best of all the servants of God,
This is the pious, the elect, the pure, the eminent."

Hisham was enraged and threw Farazdaq into prison. 'Ali sent to him a purse containing 12,000 dirhems; but the poet returned it, with the message that he had uttered many lies in the panegyrics on princes and governors which he was accustomed to compose for money, and that he had addressed these verses to 'Ali as a partial expiation for his sins in that respect, and as a proof of his affection towards the House of the Prophet. 'Ali, however, begged to be

excused from taking back what he had already given away; and Farazdaq at last consented to receive the money.]

4. ABU JA'FAR MUHAMMAD B. 'ALI B. HUSAYN AL-BAQIR

Some say that his "name of honour" was Abu Abdallah. His nickname was Baqir. He was distinguished for his knowledge of the abstruse sciences and for his subtle indications as to the meaning of the Quran. It is related that on one occasion a king, who wished to destroy him, summoned him to his presence. When Baqir appeared, the king begged his pardon, bestowed gifts upon him, and dismissed him courteously. On being asked why he had acted in this manner, the king replied: "When he came in, I saw two lions, one on his right hand and one on his left, who threatened to destroy me if I should attempt to do him any harm." In his explanation of the verse, "Whosoever believes in the *taghut* and believes in God" (Qur.ii,257), Baqir said: "Anything that diverts thee from contemplation of the Truth is thy *taghut*." One of his intimate friends relates that when a portion of the night had passed and Baqir had finished his litanies, he used to cry aloud to God: "O my God and my Lord night has come, and the power of monarchs has ceased, and the stars are shining in the sky, and all mankind are asleep and silent, and the Banu Umayya have gone to rest and shut their doors and set guards to watch over them; and those who desired anything from them have forgotten their business. Thou, O God, art the Living, the Lasting, the Seeing, the Knowing. Sleep and slumber cannot overtake Thee. He who does not acknowledge that Thou art such as I have described is unworthy of Thy bounty. O Thou whom no thing withholds from any other thing, whose eternity is not impaired by Day and Night, whose doors of Mercy are open to all who call upon Thee, and whose entire treasures are lavished on

those who praise Thee: Thou dost never turn away the beggar, and no creature in earth or heaven can prevent the true believer who implores Thee from gaining access to Thy court. O Lord, when I remember death and the grave and the reckoning, how can I take joy in this world? Therefore, since I acknowledge Thee to be One, I beseech Thee to give me peace in the hour of death, without torment, and pleasure in the hour of reckoning, without punishment."

5. ABU MUHAMMAD JA'FAR B. MUHAMMAD SADIQ

He is celebrated among the Sufi Shaykhs for the subtlety of his discourse and his acquaintance with spiritual truths, and he has written famous books in explanation of Sufi'ism. It is related that he said: "Whoever knows God turns his back on all else". The gnostic (*arif*) turns his back on "other" (than God) and is cut off from wordly things, because his knowledge (*marifat*) is pure nescience (*nakirat*), inasmuch as nescience forms part of his knowledge, and knowledge forms part of his nescience. Therefore the gnostic is separated from mankind and from thought of them, and he is joined to God. "Other" has no place in his heart, that he should pay any heed to them, and their existence has no worth for him, that he should fix the remembrance of them in his mind. And it is related that he said: "There is no right service without repentance, because God hath put repentance before service, and hath said, Those who repent and serve" (Qur.ix,113). Repentance (tawbah) is the first of the "stations" in this Path, and service (ibadat) is the last. When God mentioned the disobedient He called them to repentance and said, "Repent unto God together" (Qur.xxiv,31); but when He mentioned the Apostle He referred to his "servantship" (*'ubudiyyat*), and said, "He revealed to His servant that which He

revealed" (Qur.liii,10). I have read in the Anecdotes that Dawud Tai came to Jafar Sadiq and said: "O son of the Apostle of God, counsel me, for my mind is darkened." Jafar replied: "O Abu Sulayman, thou art the ascetic of thy time: what need hast thou of counsel from me?" He answered: "O son of the Apostle, thy family are superior to all mankind, and it is incumbent on thee to give counsel to all." "O Abu Sulayman,"cried Jafar, "I am afraid that at the Resurrection my grandsire will lay hold on me, saying, 'Why didst not thou fulfil the obligation to follow in my steps?' This is not a matter that depends on authentic and sure affinity (to Muhammad), but on good conduct in the presence of the Truth." Dawud Tai began to weep and exclaimed: "O Lord God, if one whose clay is moulded with the water of Prophecy, whose grandsire is the Apostle, and whose mother is Fatima (Batul) -- if such a one is distracted by doubts, who am I that I should be pleased with my dealings (towards God)?" One day jafar said to his clients: "come, let us take a pledge that whoever amongst us shall gain deliverance on the Day of Resurrection shall intercede for all the rest." They said: O son of the Apostle, how canst thou have need of our intercession since thy grandsire intercedes for all mankind?" Jafar replied: "My actions are such that I shall be ashamed to look my grandsir in the face on the Last Day." To see one's faults is a quality of perfection, and is charcteristic of those who are established in the Divine presence, whether they be prophets, saints, or apostles. The Apostle said: "When God wishes a man well, He gives him insight into his faults." Whoever bows his head with humility, like a servant, God will exalt his state in both worlds.

Now I shall mention briefly the People of the Veranda (*Ahl-i Suffah*). In a book entitled "The Highway of Religion" (*Minhaj al-Din*), which I composed before the present work, I have given a detailed account of each of

them, but here it will suffice to mention their names and "names of honour".

1 Twenty-five verses are quoted.

CHAPTER IX

CONCERNING THE PEOPLE OF THE VERANDA (Ahl-i Suffah)

Know that all Muslims are agreed that the Apostle had a number of Companions, who abode in his Mosque and engaged in devotion, renouncing the world and refusing to seek a livelihood. God reproached the Apostle on their account and said: "Do not drive away those who call unto their Lord at morn and eve, desiring His face" (Qur. vi,52). Their merits are proclaimed by the Book of God, and in many traditions of the Apostle which have come down to us. It is related by Ibn 'Abbas that the Apostle passed by the people of the Veranda, and saw their poverty and their self mortification and said: "Rejoice! for whoever of my community perseveres in the state in which ye are, and is satisfied with his condition, he shall be one of my comrades in Paradise." Among the Ahl-i Suffah[1] were Bilal b. Rabah, Salman al-Farisi, Abu 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah, Abu 'l-Yaqzan 'Ammar b. Yasir, 'Abdallah b. Mas'ud al-Hudhali, his brother 'Utba b. Mas'ud Miqdad b. al-Aswad, Khabbab b. al-Aratt, Suhayb b. Sinan, 'Utba b. Ghazwan, Zayd b. al-Khattab, brother of the Caliph 'Umar; Abu Kabsha, the Apostle's client; Abu 'l-Marthad Kinana b. al-Husayn al-'Adawi; Salim, client of Hudhayfa al-Yamani; 'Ukkasha b. Mihsan; Mas'ud b. Rabi al-Faris; Abu Dharr Jundab b. Junada al-Ghifari; 'Abdallah b. 'Umar; Safwan b. Bayda; Abu Darda 'Uwaym b. 'Amir; Abu Lubab b. 'Abd al-Mundhir; and 'Abdallah b. Badr al-Juhani.

Shaykh Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Muhammad b. al-Husayn al-Sulami[2] the traditionist (*naqqal*) of Sufi'ism and transmitter of the sayings of the Sufi Shaykhs, has written a separate history of the Ahl-i Suffah, in which he has

recorded their virtues and merits and names and "names of honour". He has included among them Mistah b. Uthatha b. 'Abbad, whom I dislike because he began the slanders about 'A'isha, the Mother of the Believers. Abu Hurayra, and Thawban, and Mu'adh b. al-Harith, and Sa'ib b. Khallad, and Thabit b. Wadi'at, and Abu 'Isa 'Uwaym b. Sa'ida, and Salim b. 'Umayr b. Thabit, and Abu 'l-Yasar Ka'b b. 'Amr, and Wahb b. Ma'qal, and 'Abdallah b. Unays, and Hajjaj b. 'Umar al-Aslami belonged to the Ahl-i Suffah. Now and then they had recourse to some means of livelihood (*ta'alluq ba-sababi kardandi*), but all of them were in one and the same degree (of dignity). Verily, the generation of the Companions was the best of all generations; and they were the best and most excellent of mankind, since God bestowed on them companionship with the Apostle and preserved their hearts from blemish.

1 I have corrected many of the following names, which are erroneously written in the Persian text, by reference to various Arabic works.
2 See Brockelmann, I, 200.

CHAPTER X

CONCERNING THEIR IMAMS WHO BELONGED TO THE FOLLOWERS (*al-Tabi'un*)

1. UWAYS AL-QARANI

He lived in the time of the Apostle, but was prevented from seeing him, firstly by the ecstasy which overmastered him, and secondly by duty to his mother. The Apostle said to the Companions: "There is a man at Qaran, called Uways, who at the Resurrection will intercede for a multitude of my people, as many as the sheep of Rabi'a and Mudar." Then turning to 'Umar and 'Ali, he said: "You will see him. He is a lowly man, of middle height, and hairy; on his left side there is a white spot, as large as a dirhem, which is not from leprosy (*pisti*), and he has a similar spot on the palm of his hand. When you see him, give him my greeting, and bid him pray for my people." After the Apostle's death 'Umar came to Makkah, and cried out in the course of a sermon: "O men of Najd, are there any natives of Qaran amongst you?" They answered, "Yes"; where upon 'Umar sent for them and asked them about Uways. They said: "He is a madman who dwells in solitude and associates with no one. He does not eat what men eat, and he feels no joy or sorrow. When others smile he weeps, and when others weep he smiles." 'Umar said: "I wish to see him." They replied: "He lives in a desert, far from our camels." 'Umar and 'Ali set out in quest of him. They found him praying, and waited until he was finished. He saluted them and showed them the marks on his side and the palm of his hand. They asked his blessing and gave him the Apostle's greeting; and enjoined him to pray for the Muslim

people. After they had stayed with him for a while, he said: "You have taken trouble (to see me); now return, for the Resurrection is near, when we shall see each other without having to say farewell. At present I am engaged in preparing for the Resurrection." When the men of Qaran came home, they exhibited great respect for Uways. He left his native place and came to Kufa. One day he was seen by Harim b. Hayyan, but after that nobody saw him until the period of civil war. He fought for 'Ali, and fell a martyr at the battle of Siffin.

It is related that he said: "Safety lies in solitude," because the heart of the solitary is free from thought of "other", and in no circumstances does he hope for anything from mankind. Let none imagine, however, that solitude (*wahdat*) merely consists in living alone. So long as the Devil associates with a man's heart, and sensual passion holds sway in his breast, and any thought of this world or the next occurs to him in such a way as to make him conscious of mankind, he is not truly in solitude; since it is all one whether he takes pleasure in the thing itself or in the thought of it. Accordingly, the true solitary is not disturbed by society, but he who is preoccupied seeks in vain to acquire freedom from thought by secluding himself. In order to be cut off from mankind one must become intimate with God, and those who have become intimate with God are not hurt by intercourse with mankind.

2. HARIM B. HAYYAN

He went to visit Uways Qarani, but on arriving at Qaran he found that Uways was no longer there. Deeply disappointed, he returned to Makkah, where he learned that Uways was living at Kufa. He repaired thither, but could not discover him for a long time. At last he set out for Basra and on the way he saw Uways, clad in a patched

frock, performing an ablution on the banks of the Euphrates. As soon as he came up from the shore of the river and combed his beared, Harim advanced to meet him and saluted him. Uways said: "Peace be with thee, O Harim b. Hayyan!" Harim cried: "How did you know that I am Harim?" Uways answered: "My spirit knew thy spirit." He said to Harim: "Keep watch over the heart" (*'alayka bi-qalbika*), i.e. "Guard thy heart from thoughts of 'other'". This saying has two meanings: (1) "Make thy heart obedient to God by self motification", and (2) "make thyself obedient to thy heart". These are two sound principles. It is the business of novices (muridan) to make their hearts obedient to God in order to purge them from familiarity with vain desires and passions, and sever them from unseemly thoughts, and fix them on the method of gaining spiritual health, on the keeping of the commandments, and on contemplation of the signs of God, so that their hearts may become the shrine of Love. To make one's self obedient to one's heart is the business of adepts (*kamilan*), whose hearts God has illumined with the light of Beauty, and delivered from all causes and means, and invested with the robe of proximity (*qurb*), and thereby has revealed to them. His bounties and has chosen them to contemplate Him and to be near Him: hence He has made their bodies accordant with their hearts. The former class are masters of their hearts (*sahib al-qulub*), the latter are under the dominion of their hearts (maghlub al-qulub); the former retain their attributes (*baqi 'l-sifat*), the latter have lost their attributes (*fani 'l-sifat*). The truth of this matter goes back to the words of God: *Illa'ibadaka minhumu 'l-mukhlasina*, "except such of them as are Thy purified (chosen) servants" (Qur. xv,40). Here some read *mukhlisina* instead of *mukhlasina*. The *mukhlis* (purifying one's self) is active, and retains his attributes, but the *mukhlas* (purified) is passive, and has lost his attributes. I will explain this question more fully elsewhere. The latter

class, who make their bodies accordant with their hearts, and whose hearts abide in contemplation of God, are of higher rank than those who by their own effort make their hearts comply with the Divine commandments. This subject has its foundation in the principles of sobriety (*Sahw*) and intoxication (sukr), and in those of contemplation (*mushahadah*) and self-mortification (*mujahadah*).

3. HASAN OF BASRA

His "name of honour" was Abu 'Ali; according to others, Abu Muhammad or Abu Sa'id. He is held in high regard and esteem by the Sufis. He gave subtle directions relating to the science of practical religion (*'ilm-i mu'amalat*). I have read in the Anecdotes that a Bedouin came to him and asked him about patience (sabr). Hasan replied: "Patience is of two sorts: firstly, patience in misfortune and affliction; and secondly, patience to refrain from the things which God has commanded us to renounce and has forbidden us to pursue." The Bedouin said: "Thou art an ascetic; I never saw anyone more ascetic than thou art." "O Bedouin!" cried Hasan, "my asceticism is nothing but desire, and my patience is nothing but lack of fortitude." The Bedouin begged him to explain this saying, "for [said he] thou hast shaken my belief." Hasan replied: "My patience in misfortune and my submission proclaim my fear of Hell-fire, and this is lack of fortitude (jaza'); and my asceticism in this world is desire for the next world, and this is the quintessence of desire. How excellent is he who takes no thought of his own interest! so that his patience is for God's sake, not for the saving of himself from Hell; and his asceticism is for God's sake, not for the purpose of bringing himself into Paradise. This is the mark of true sincerity." And it is related that he said: "Association with the wicked produces suspicion of the good." This saying is

very apt and suitable to the people of the present age, who all disbelieve in the honoured friends of God. The reason of their disbelief is that they associate with pretenders to Sufi'ism, who have only its external forms; and perceiving their actions to be perfidious, their tongues false, their ears listening to idle quatrains, their eyes following pleasure and lust, and their hearts set on amassing unlawful or dubious lucre, they fancy that aspirants to Sufi'ism behave in the same manner, or that this is the doctrine of the Sufis themselves, whereas, on the contrary, the Sufis act in obedience to God, and speak the word of God, and keep the love of God in their hearts and the voice (sama) of God in their ears, and the beauty of Divine contemplation in their eyes, and all their thoughts are fixed on the gaining of holy mysteries in the place where Vision is vouchsafed to them. If evildoers have appeared among them and have adopted their practices, the evil must be referred to those who commit it. Anyone who associates with the wicked members of a community does so through his own wickedness, for he would associate with the good if there were any good in him.

4. SA'ID B. AL-MUSAYYIB

It is said that he was a man of devout nature who made a show of hypocrisy, not a hypocrite who pretended to be devout. This way of acting is approved in Sufism and is held laudable by all the Shaykhs. He said: "Be content with a little of this world while thy religion is safe, even as some are content with much thereof while their religion is lost," i.e. poverty without injury to religion is better than riches with heedlessness. It is related that when he was at Makkah a man came to him and said: "Tell me a lawful thing in which there is nothing unlawful." He replied: "Praise (*dhikr*) of God is a lawful thing in which there is nothing unlawful, and praise of aught else is an unlawful thing in

which there is nothing lawful," because your salvation lies in the former and your perdition in the latter.

CHAPTER XI

CONCERNING THEIR IMAMS WHO LIVED SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE FOLLOWERS (al-Tabi'un) DOWN TO OUR DAY.

1. HABIB AL-'AJAMI

His conversion (tawbah) was begun by Hasan of Basra. At first he was a usurer and committed all sorts of wickedness, but God gave him a sincere repentance, and he learned from Hasan something of the theory and practice of religion. His native tongue was Persian ('ajami), and he could not speak Arabic correctly. One evening Hasan of Basra passed by the door of his cell. Habib had uttered the call to prayer and was standing, engaged in devotion. Hasan came in, but would not pray under his leadership, because Habib was unable to speak Arabic fluently or recite the Quran correctly. The same night, Hasan dreamed that he saw God and said to Him: "O Lord, wherein does Thy good pleasure consist? and that God answered: "O Hasan, you found My good pleasure, but did not know its value: if yesternight you had said your prayers after Habib, and if the rightness of his intention had restrained you from taking offence at his pronunciation, I should have been well pleased with you," It is common knowledge among Sufis that when Hasan of Basra fled from Hajjaj he entered the cell of Habib. The soldiers came and said to Habib: "Have you seen Hasan anywhere?" Habib said: "Yes." "Where is he?" "He is in my cell." They went into the cell, but saw no one there. Thinking that Habib was making fun of them, they abused him and called him a liar. He swore that he had spoken the truth. They returned twice and thrice, but found no one, and at last departed. Hasan immediately came out

and said to Habib: "I know it was owing to thy benedictions that God did not discover me to these wicked men, but why didst thou tell them I was here?" Habib replied: "O Master, it was not on account of my benedictions that they failed to see thee, but through the blessedness of my speaking the truth. Had I told a lie, we both should have been shamed." Habib was asked: "With what thing is God pleased?" He answered: "With a heart which is not sullied by hypocrisy," because hypocrisy (nifaq) is the opposite of concord (wifaq), and the state of being well pleased (rida) is the essence of concord. There is no connexion between hypocrisy and love, and love subsists in the state of being well pleased (with whatever is decreed by God). Therefore acquiescence (rida) is a characteristic of God's friends, while hypocrisy is a characteristic of His enemies. This is a very important matter. I will explain it in another place.

2. MALIK B. DINAR

He was a companion of Hasan of Basra. Dinar was a slave, and Malik was born before his father's emancipation. His conversion began as follows. One evening he had been enjoying himself with a party of friends. When they were all asleep a voice came from a lute which they had been playing: "O Malik! why dost thou not repent?" Malik abandoned his evil ways and went to Hasan of Basra, and showed himself steadfast in repentance. He attained to such a high degree that once when he was in a ship, and was suspected of stealing a jewel, he no sooner lifted his eyes to heaven than all the fishes in the sea came to the surface, every one carrying a jewel in its mouth. Malik took one of the jewels, and gave it to the man whose jewel was missing; then he set foot on the sea and walked until he reached the shore. It is related that he said: "The deed that I love best is sincerity in doing," because an action only becomes an action in virtue of its sincerity in doing",

because an action only becomes an action in virtue of sincerity. Sincerity bears the same relation to an action as the spirit to the body: as the body without the spirit is a lifeless thing, so an action without sincerity is utterly unsubstantial. Sincerity belongs to the class of internal action, whereas acts of devotion belong to the class of external actions: the latter are completed by the former, while the former derive their value from the latter. Although a man should keep his heart sincere for a thousand years, it is not sincerity until his sincerity is combined with action; and although he should perform external actions for a thousand years, his actions do not become acts of devotion until they are combined with sincerity.

3. ABU HALIM HABIB B. SALIMI AL-RAI

He was a companion of Salman Farisi. He related that the Apostle said: "The believer's intentions are better than his acts." He had flocks of sheep, and his home was on the bank of the Euphrates. His religious Path (tariq) was retirement from the world. A certain Shaykh relates as follows: "Once I passed by him and found him praying, while a wolf looked after his sheep. I resolved to pay him a visit, since he appeared to me to have the marks of greatness. When we had exchanged greetings, I said: "O Shaykh! I see the wolf in accord with the sheep." He replied: 'That is because the shephered is in accord with God.' With those words he held a wooden bowl under a rock, and two fountains gushed from the rock, one of milk and one of honey. 'O Shaykh!' I cried, as he bade me drink, 'how hast thou attained to this degree?' He answered: 'By obedience to Muhammad, the Apostle of God. O my son! the rock gave water to the people of Moses,[2] although they disobeyed him, and although Moses is not equal in rank to Muhammad: why should not the rock give milk and honey

to me, in as much as I am obedient to Muhammad, who is superior to Moses?' I said: 'Give me a word of counsel.' He said: 'Do not make your heart a coffer of covetousness and your belly a vessel of unlawful things."

My Shaykh had further traditions concerning him, but I could not possibly set down more than this (*andar waqt-i man diqi bud u bish az in mumkin na-shud*), my books having been left at Ghazna -- may God guard it! -- while I myself had become a captive among uncongenial folk (*dar miyan-i najinsan*) in the district of Lahawur, which is a dependency of Multan. God be praised both in joy and sorrow!

4. ABU HAZIM AL-MADANI

He was steadfast in poverty, and thoroughly versed in different kinds of self-mortification. 'Amr b. 'Uthman al-Makki,who shows great zeal on his behalf (*andar amr-i way ba-jidd bashad*), relates that on being asked what he possessed he answered: "Satisfaction (*rida*) with God and independence of mankind." A certain Shaykh went to see him and found him asleep. When he awoke he said: "I dreamed just now that the Apostle gave me a message to thee, and bade me inform thee that it is better to fulfil the duty which is owed to one's mother than to make the Pilgrimage. Return, therefore, and try to please her." The person who tells the story turned back and did not go to Makkah. This is all that I have heard about Abu Hazim.

5. MUHAMMAD B. WASI

He associated with many of the Followers and with some of the ancient Shaykhs, and had a perfect knowledge of Sufi'ism. It is related that he said: "I never say anything without seeing God therein". This is an advanced stage

(*maqam*) of Contemplation. When a man is overcome with love for the Agent, he attains to such a degree that in looking at His act he does not see the act but the Agent only and entirely, just as when one looks at a picture and sees only the painter. The true meaning of these words is the same as in the saying of Abraham, the Friend of God (*Khalil*) and the Apostle, who said to the sun and moon and stars: "This is my Lord" (Qur.vi,76-8), for he was then overcome with longing (*shawq*), so that the qualities of his beloved appeared to him in everything that he saw. The friends of God perceive that the universe is subject to His might and captive to His dominion, and that the existence of all created things is as nothing in comparison with the power of the Agent thereof. When they look thereon with longing, they do not see what is subject and passive and created, but only the Omnipotent, the Agent, the Creator. I shall treat of his in the chapter on Contemplation. Some persons have fallen into error, and have alleged that the words of Muhammad b. Wasi, "I saw God therein," involve a place of division and descent (*makan-i tajziya u hulul*), which is sheer infidelity, because place is homogeneous with that which is contained in it, and if anyone supposes that place is created the contained object must also be created; or if the latter be eternal the former also must be eternal: hence this assertion entails two evil consequences, both of which are infidelity, viz., either that created things are eternal (qadim) or that the Creator is non-eternal (muhdath). Accordingly, when Muhammad b. Wasi said that he saw God in things, he meant, as I have explained above, that he saw in those things the signs and evidences and proofs of God.

I shall discuss in the proper place some subtle points connected with this question.

6. ABU HANIFA NU'MAN B. THABIT AL-KHARRAZ

He is the Imam of Imams and the exemplar of the Sunnites. He was firmly grounded in works of mortification and devotion, and was a great authority on the principles of Sufi'ism. At first he wished to go into seclusion and abandon the society of mankind, for he had made his heart free from every thought of human power and pomp. One night, however, he dreamed that he was collecting the bones of the Apostle from the tomb, and choosing some and discarding others. He awoke in terror and asked one of the pupils of Muhammad b. Sirin[3] (to interpret the dream). This man said to him: "You will attain a high rank in knowledge of the Apostle and in preserving his ordinances (*sunnat*), so that you will sift what is genuine from what is spurious." Another time Abu Hanifa dreamed that the Apostle said to him: "You have been created for the purpose of reviving my ordinances." He was the master of many Shaykhs, e.g. Ibrahim b. Adham and Fudayl b. 'Iyad and Dawud Tai and Bishr Hafi.

In the reign of the Caliph Mansur a plan was formed to appoint to the office of Qazi one of the following persons: Abu Hanifa, Sufyan Thawri, Mis'ar b. Kidam, and Shurayh. While they were journeying together to visit Mansur, who had summoned them to his presence, Abu Hanifa said to his companions: "I will reject this office by means of a certain trick, Mis'ar will feign to be made, Sufyan will run away, and Shurayh will be made Qazi." Sufyan fled and embarked in a ship, imploring the captain to conceal him and save him from execution. The others were ushered into the presence of the Caliph. Mansur said to Abu Hanifa: "You must act as Qazi." Abu Hanifa replied: "O Commander of the Faithful, I am not an Arab, but one of their clients; and the chiefs of the Arabs will not accept my decisions." Mansur said: "This matter has nothing to do with lineage: it demands learning, and you are the most eminent doctor of the day." Abu Hanifa persisted that he

was unfit to hold the office. "What I have just said shows it," he exclaimed; "for if I have spoken the truth I am disqualified, and if i have told a falsehood it is not right that a liar should be judge over Muslims, and that you should entrust him with the lives, property, and honour of your subjects." He escaped in this way. Then Mis'ar came forward and seized the Caliph's hand and said: "How are you, and your children, and your beasts of burden?" "Away with him," cried Mansur, "he is mad!" Finally, Shurayh was told that he must fill the vacant office. "I am melancholic," said he, "and light-witted," where upon Mansur advised him to drink ptisanes and potions (*'asidaha-yi muwafiq u nabidhha-yi muthallath)* until his intellect was fully restored. So Shurayh was made Qazi, and Abu Hanifa never spoke a word to him again. This story illustrates not only the sagacity of Abu Hanifa, but also his adherence to the path of righteousness and salvation, and his determination not to let himself be deluded by seeking popularity and worldly renown. It shows, moreover, the soundness of blame (*malamat*), since all these three venerable men resorted to some trick in order to avoid popularity. Very different are the doctors of the present age, who make the palaces of princes their *qibla* and the houses of evildoers their temple.

Once a doctor of Ghazna, who claimed to be a learned divine and a religious leader, declared it heresy to wear a patched frock (muraqqa'a). I said to him: "You do not call it heretical to wear robes of brocade,[4] which are made entirely of silk and, besides being in themselves unlawful for men to wear, have been begged with importunity, which is unlawful, from evildoers whose property is absolutely unlawful. Why, then, is it heretical to wear a lawful garment, procured from a lawful place, and purchased with lawful money? If you were not ruled by inborn conceit and by the error of your soul, you would express a more

judicious opinion. Women may wear a dress of silk lawfully, but it is unlawful for men, and only permissible (mubah) for lunatics. If you acknowledge the truth of both these statements you are excused (for condemning the patched frock). God save us from lack of fairness!"

Yahya b. Mu'adh al-Razi relates as follows: "I dreamed that I said to the Apostle, 'O Apostle of God, where shall I seek thee?' He answered: 'In the science of Abu Hanifa.'"

Once, when I was in Syria, I fell asleep at the tomb of Bilal the Muezzin,[5] and dreamed that I was at Makkah, and that the Apostle came in through the gate of the Banu Shayba, tenderly clasping an old man to his bosom in the same fashion as people are wont to carry children; and that I ran to him and kissed the back of his foot, and stood marvelling who the old man might be; and that the Apostle was miraculously aware of my secret thought and said to me, "This is thy Imam and the Imam of thy countryman," meaning Abu Hanifa. In consequence of this dream I have great hopes for myself and also for the people of my country. It has convinced me, moreover, that Abu Hanifa was one of those who, having annihilated their natural qualities, continue to perform the ordinances of the sacred law, as appears from the fact that he was carried by the Apostle. If he had walked by himself, his attributes must have been subsistent, and such a one may either miss or hit the mark; but inasmuch as he was carried by the Apostle, his attributes must have been non-existent while he was sustained by the living attributes of the Apostle. The Apostle cannot err, and it is equally impossible that one who is sustained by the Apostle should fall into error.

When Dawud Ta'i had acquired learning and become a famous authority, he went to Abu Hanifa and said to him: "What shall I do now?" Abu Hanifa replied: "Practise what

you have learned, for theory without practice is like a body without a spirit." He who is content with learning alone is not learned, and the truly learned man is not content with learning alone.

Similarly, Divine guidance (*hidayat*) involves self-mortification (*mujahadah*), without which contemplation (mushahadah) is unattainable. There is no knowledge without action, since knowledge is the product of action, and is brought forth and developed and made profitable by the blessings of action. The two things cannot be divorced in any way, just as the light of the sun cannot be separated from the sun itself.

7. 'ABDALLAH B. MUBARAK AL-MARWAZI

He was the Imam of his time and consorted with many eminent Shaykhs. He is the author of celebrated works and famous miracles. The occasion of his conversion is related as follows: He was in love with a girl, and one night in winter he stationed himself at the foot of the wall of her house, while she came on to the roof, and they both stayed gazing at each other until daybreak. When 'Abdallah heard the call to morning prayers he thought it was time for evening prayers; and only when the sun began to shine did he discover that he had spent the whole night in rapturous contemplation of his beloved. He took warning by this, and said to himself: "Shame on thee, O son of Mubarak! Dost thou stand on foot all night for thine own pleasure, and yet become furious when the Imam reads a long chapter of the Quran?" He repented and devoted himself to study, and entered upon a life of aceticism, in which he attained such a high degree that once his mother found him asleep in the garden, while a great snake was driving the gnats away from him with a spray of basil which it held in its mouth. Then he left Merv and lived for some time in Baghdad,

associating with the Sufi Shaykhs and also resided for some time at Makkah. When he returned to Merv, the people of the town received him with friendship and founded for him a professorial chair and a lecture hall (*dars u majlis nihadand*). At that epoch half the population of Merv were followers of Tradition and the other half adherents of Opinion, just as at the present day. They called him Radi al-fariqayn because of his agreement with both sides, and each party claimed him as one of themselves. He built two convents (*ribat*) at Merv -- one for the followers of Tradition and one for the followers of Opinion - which have retained their original constitution down to the present day. Afterwards he went back to the Hijaz and settled at Makkah. On being asked what wonders he had seen, he replied: "I saw a Christian monk (*rahib*), who was emaciated by self-mortification and bent double by fear of God. I asked him to tell me the way to God. He answered, 'If you knew God, you would know the way to Him." Then he said, 'I worship Him although I do not know him, whereas you disobey Him although you know Him,' i.e. 'knowledge entails fear, yet I see that you are confident; and infidelity entails ignorance, yet I feel fear within myself'. I laid this to heart, and it restrained me from many ill deeds." It is related that 'Abdallah b. Mubarak said: "Tranquillity is unlawful to the hearts of the Saints of God," for they are agitated in this world by seeking God (*talab*) and in the next world by rapture (*tarab*); they are not permitted to rest here, while they are absent from God, nor there, while they enjoy the presence, manifestation, and vision of God. Hence this world is even as the next world in their eyes, and the next world even as this world, because tranquillity of heart demands two things, either attainment of one's aim or indifference to the object of one's desire. Since He is not to be attained in this world or the next, the heart can never have rest from the palpitation of love; and since indifference is unlawful to those who

love Him, the heart can never have rest from the agitations of seeking Him. This is a firm principle in the path of spiritual adepts.

8. ABU 'ALI AL-FUDAYL B. 'IYAD

He is one of the paupers (sa'alik) of the Sufis, and one of their most eminent and celebrated men. At first he used to practise brigandage between Merv and Baward, but he was always inclined to piety, and invariably showed a generous and magnanimous disposition, so that he would not attack a caravan in which there was any woman, or take the property of anyone whose stock was small; and he let the travellers keep a portion of their property, according to the means of each. One day a merchant set out from Merv. His friends advised him to take an escort, but he said to them: "I have heard that Fudayl is a God-fearing man;" and instead of doing as they wished he hired a Quran-reader and mounted him on a camel in order that he might read the Quran aloud day and night during the journey. When they reached the place where Fudayl was lying in ambush, the reader happened to be reciting: "Is not the time yet come unto those who believe, that their hearts should humbly submit to the admonition of God?" (Qur.lvii,15). Fudayl's heart was softened. He repented of the business in which he was engaged, and having a written list of those whom he had robbed he satisfied all their claims upon him. Then he went to Makkah and resided there for some time and became acquainted with certain saints of God. Afterwards he returned to Kufa, where he associated with Abu Hanifa. He has handed down relations which are held in high esteem by Traditionists, and he is the author of lofty sayings concerning the verities of Sufi'ism and Divine Knowledge. It is recorded that he said: "Whoever knows God as He ought to be known worships Him with all his might," because everyone who knows God acknowledges

His bounty and beneficence and mercy, and therefore, loves Him' and since he loves Him he obeys Him so far as he has the power, for it is not difficult to obey those whom one loves. Accordingly, the more one loves, the more one is obedient, and love is increased by true knowledge.[6] It is related that he said: "The world is a madhouse, and the people therein are madmen, wearing shackles and chains." Lust is our shackle and sin is our chain.

Fadl b. Rabi relates as follows: "I accompanied Harun al-Rashid to Makkah. When we had performed the Pilgrimage, he said to me, 'Is there any man of God here that I may visit him?' I replied, 'Yes, there is 'Abd al-Razzaq San'ani.[7] We went to his house and talked with him for a while. When we were about to leave, Harun bade me ask him whether he had any debts. He said, 'Yes,' and Harun gave orders they they should be paid. On coming out, Harun said to me, 'O Fadl, my heart still desires to see a man greater than this one.' I conducted him to Sufyan b. 'Uyayna.[8] Our visit ended in the same way. Harun gave orders to pay his debts and departed. Then he said to me, 'I recollect that Fudayl b. 'Iyad is here; let us go and see him.' We found him in an upper chamber, reciting a verse of the Quran. When we knocked at the door, he cried, 'Who is there?' I replied, 'The Commander of the Faithful.' 'What have I to do with the Commander of the Faithful?' said he. I said, 'Is there not an Apostolic Tradition to the effect that no one shall seek to abase himself in devotion to God?' He answered, 'Yes, but acquiescence in God's will (rida) is everlasting glory in the opinion of quietists: you see my abasement, but I see my exaltation.' Then he came down and opened the door, and extinguished the lamp and stood in a corner. Harun went in and tried to find him. Their hands met. Fudayl exclaimed, 'Alas! never have I felt a softer hand: 't will be very wonderful if it escapes from the Divine torment.' Harun began to weep, and wept so

violently that he swooned. When he came to himself, he said 'O Fudayl, give me a word of counsel.' Fudayl said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, thy ancestor (*'Abbas*) was the uncle of Mustafa. He asked the Prophet (May peace be upon him) to give him dominion over men. The Prophet (May peace be upon him) answered, "O my uncle, I will give thee dominion for one moment over thyself," i.e. one moment of thy obedience to God is better than a thousand years of men's obedience to thee, since dominion brings repentance on the Day of Resurrection' (*al-imarat yawm al-qiyamat nadamat*). Harun said, 'Counsel me further.' Fudayl continued: 'When 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Aziz was appointed Caliph, he summoned Salim b. 'Abdallah and Raja b. Hayat, and Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi, and said to them, "What am I to do in this affliction? for I count it an affliction, although people in general consider it to be a blessing." One of them replied: "If thou wouldst be saved tomorrow from the Divine punishment, regard the elder of the Muslims as thy fathers, and their young men as thy brothers, and their children as thy children. The whole territory of Islam is thy house, and its people are thy family. Visit the father, and honour thy brother, and deal kindly with thy children." Then Fudayl said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, I fear lest that handsome face of thine fall into Hell-fire. Fear God, and perform thy obligations to Him better than this.' Harun asked Fudayl whether he had any debts. He answered, 'Yest, the debt which I owe to God, namely, obedience to Him; woe is me, if He call me to account for it!' Harun said, 'O Fudayl, I am speaking of debts to men.' He replied, 'God be praised! His bounty towards me is great, and I have no reason to complain of Him to His servants.' Harun offered him a purse of a thousand dinars, saying, 'Use the money for some purpose of thine own.' Fudayl said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, my counsels have done thee no good. Here again thou art behaving wrongly and unjustly.' Harun

exclaimed, 'How is that?' Fudayl said, 'I wish thee to be saved, but thou wouldst cast me into perdiction: is not this unjust?' We took leave of him with tears in our eyes, and Harun said to me, 'O Fudayl, Fundayl is a king indeed."

All this shows his hatred of the world and its people, and his contempt for its gauds, and his refusal to abase himself before worldings for the sake of worldly gain.

9. ABU 'L-FAYD DHU 'L-NUN B. IBRAHIM AL-MISRI

He was the son of a Nubian, and his name was Thawban. He is one of the best of this sect, and one of the most eminent of their hidden spiritualists (*'ayyaran*), for he trod the path of affliction and travelled on the road of blame (*malamat*). All the people of Egypt were lost in doubt as to his true state, and did not believe in him until he was dead. One the night of his decease seventy persons dreamed that they saw the Apostle, who said: "I have come to meet Dhu 'l-Nun, the friend of God." And after his death the following words were found inscribed on his forehead: *This is the beloved of God, who died in love of God, slain by God.* At his funeral the birds of the air gathered above his bier, and wove their wings together so as to shadow it. On seeing this, all the Egyptians felt remorse and repented of the injustice which they had done to him. He has many fine and admirable sayings on the verities of mystical knowledge. He says, for example: "The gnostic (*'arif*) is more lowly every day, because he is approaching nearer to his Lord every moment," inasmuch as he thereby becomes aware of the awfulness of the Divine Omnipotence, and when the majesty of God has taken possession of his heart, he sees how far he is from God and that there is no way of reaching Him; hence his lowliness is increased, Thus Moses said, when he conversed with God: "O Lord, where

shall I seek Thee?" God answered: "Among those whose hearts are broken." Moses said: "O Lord, no heart is more broken and despairing than mine." God answered: "Then I am where thou art." Accordingly, anyone who pretends to know God without lowliness and fear is an ignorant fool, not a gnostic. The sign of true knowledge is of will, and a sincere will cuts off all secondary causes and severs all ties of relationship, so that nothing remains except God. Dhu 'l-Nun says: "Sincerity (sidq) is the sword of God on the earth: it cuts everything that it touches." Now sincerity regards the Causer, and does not consist in affirmation of secondary causes. To affirm the latter is to destroy the principle of sincerity.

Among the stories told of Dhu 'l-Nun I have read that one day he was sailing with his disciples in a boat on the River Nile, as is the custom of the people of Egypt when they desire recreation. Another boat was coming up, filled with merry-makers, whose unseemly behaviour so disgusted the disciples that they begged Dhu 'l-Nun to implore God to sink the boat. Dhu l'Nun raised his hands and cried: "O Lord, as Thou hast given these people a pleasant life in this world, give them a pleasant life in the next world too!" The disciplines were astonished by his prayer. When the boat came nearer and those in it saw Dhu 'l-Nun, they began to weep and ask pardon, and broke their lutes and repented unto God. Dhu 'l-Nun said to his disciples: "A pleasant life in the next world is repentance in this world. You and they are all satisfied whout harm to anyone." He acted thus from his extreme affection towards the Muslims, following the example of the Apostle, who, notwithstanding the ill-treatment which he received from the infidels, never ceased to say: "O God! direct my people, for they know not." Dhu 'l-Nun relates that as he was journeying from Jerusalem to Egypt he saw in the distance some one advancing towards him, and felt impelled to ask a

question. When the person came near he perceived that it was an old woman carrying a staff ('ukkaza[9]), and wearing a woollen tunic (jubba). He asked her whence she came. She answered: "From God". "And whither goest thou?" "To God." Dhu 'l-Nun drew forth a piece of gold which he had with him and offered it to her, but she shook her hand in his face and cried: "O Dhu 'l-Nun, the notion which thou hast formed of me arises from the feebleness of thy intelligence. I work for God's sake, and accept nothing unless from Him. I worship Him alone and take from Him alone." With these words she went on her way.

The old woman's saying that she worked for God's sake is a proof of her sincerity in love. Men in their dealings with God fall into two classes. Some imagine that they work for God's sake when they are really working for themselves; and though their work is not done with any worldly motive, they desire a recompese in the next world. Others take no thought of reward or punishment in the next world, any more than of ostentation and reputation in this world, but act solely from reverence for the commandments of God. Their love of God requires them to forget every selfish interest while they do His bidding. The fomer class fancy that what they do for the sake of the next world they do for God's sake, and fail to recognize that the devout have a greater self-interest in devotion than the wicked have in sin, because the sinner's pleasure lasts only for a moment, whereas devotion is a delight for ever. Besides, what gain accrues to God from the religious exercises of mankind, or what loss from their non-performance? If all the world acted with the veracity of Abu Bakr, the gain would be wholly teirs, and if with the falsehood of Pharaoh, the loss would be wholly theirs, as God hath said: "If ye do good, it is to yourselves, and if ye do evil, it is to yourselves" (Qur.xvii,7); and also: "Whoever exerts himself [in religion] does so for his own advantage. Verily,

God is indpendent of created beings" (Qur.xxix,5). They seek for themselves an everlasting kingdom and say, "We are working for God's sake"; but to tread the path of love is a different thing. Lovers, in fulfilling the Divine commandment, regard only the accomplishment of the Beloved's will, and have no eyes for anything else.

A similar topic will be discussed in the chapter on Sincerity (*ikhlas*).

10. ABU ISHAQ IBRAHIM B. ADHAM B. MANSUR

He was unique in his Path, and the chief of his contemporaries. He was a disciple of the Apostle Khidr. He met a large number of the ancient Sufi Shaykhs, and associated with the Imam Abu Hanifa, from whom he learned divinity (*ilm*). In the earlier part of his life he was Prince of Balkh. One day he went to the chase, and having become separated from his suite was pursuing an antelope. God caused the antelope to address him in elegant language and say: "Wast thou created for this, or wast thou commanded to do this?" He repented, abandoned everything, and entered on the path of asceticism and abstinence. He made the acquaintance of Fudayl b. 'Iyad and Sufyan Thawri, and consorted with them. After his conversion he never ate any food except what he had earned by his own labour. His sayings on the verities of Sufi'ism are original and exquisite. Junayd said: "Ibrahim is the key of the (mystical) sciences." It is related that he said: "Take God as thy companion and leave mankind alone," i.e. when anyone is rightly and sincerely turned towards God, the rightness of his turning towards God requires that he should turn his back on mankind, inasmuch as the society of mankind has nothing to do with thoughts of God. Companionship with God is sincereity in fulfilling. His commands, and sincerity in devotion springs from

purity of love, and pure love of God proceeds from hatred of passion and lust. Whoever is familiar with sensual affections is separated from God, and whoever is separated from sensual affections is dwelling with God. Therefore thou art all mankind in regard to thyself: turn away from thyself, and thou hast turned away from all mankind. Thou dost wrong to turn away from mankind and towards thyself, and to be concerned with thyself, whereas the actions of all mankind are determined by thc providence and predestination of God. The outward and inward rectitude (*istiqamat*) of the seeker is founded on two things, one of which is theoretical and the other practical. The formcr consists in regarding all good and evil as predestined by God, so that nothing in the universe passes into a state of rest or motion until God has created rest or motion in that thing; the latter consists in performing the command of God, in rightness of action towards Him, and in keeping the obligations which he Has imposed. Predestination can never become an argument for neglecting His commands. True renunciation of mankind is impossible until thou hast renounced thyself. As soon as thou hast renounced thyself, all mankind are necessary for the fulfilment of the will of God; and as soon as thou hast turned to God, thou art necessary for the accomplishment of the decree of God. Hence it is not permissible to be satisfied with mankind. If thou will be satisfied with anything except God, at least be satisfied with another (*ghayr*), for satisfaction with another is to regard unification (tawhid), whereas satisfaction with thyself is to affirm the nullity of the Creator (ta'til). For this reason Shaykh Abu 'l-Hassan Saliba[10] used to say that it is better for novices to be under their own authority, of act than under their own authority, because companionship with another is for God's sake, while companionship with one's self is calculated to foster the sensual affections. This topic will be discussed in the proper place. Ibrahim b. Adham tells the following story: "When I reached the

desert, an old man came up and said to me, 'O Ibrahim, do you know what place this is, and where you are journeying without provisions and on foot?' I knew that he was Satan. I produced from the bosom of my shirt four daniqs -- the price of a basket which I had sold in Kufa -- and cast them away and made a vow that I would perform a prayer of four hundred genuflexions for every mile that I travelled. I remained four years in the desert, and God was giving me my daily bread without any exertion on my part. During that time Khidr consorted with me and taught me the Great Name of God. Then my heart became wholly empty of 'other' (*ghayr*)."

11. BISHR B. AL-HARITH AL-HAFI

He associated with Fudayl and was the disciple of his own maternal uncle, 'Ali b. Khashram. He was versed in the principal, as well as the derivative, sciences. His conversion began as follows. One day, when he was drunk, he found on the road a piece of paper on which was written: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful." He picked it up with reverence, perfumed it, and laid in a clean place. The same night he dreamed that God said to him: "O Bishr, as thou hast made My name sweet, I swear by My glory that I will make thy name sweet both in this world and the next." Thereupon he repented and took to asceticism. So intensely was he absorbed in contemplation of God that he never put anything on his feet. When he was asked the reason of this, he said: "The Earth is His carpet, and I deem it wrong to tread on His carpet while there is anything between my foot and His carpet." This is one of his peculiar practices: in the concentration of his mind on God a shoe seemed to him a veil (between him and God). It is related that he said: "Whoever desires to be honoured in this world an exalted in the next world, let him shun three things: let him not ask

a boon of anyone, nor speak ill of anyone, nor accept an invitation to eat with anyone." No man who knows the way to God will ask a boon of human beings, since to do so is a proof of his ignorance of God: if he knew the Giver of all boons, he would not ask a boon from a fellow-creature. Again, the man who speaks ill of anyone is criticizing the decree of God, inasmuch as both the individual himself and his actions are created by God; and on whom can the blame for an action be thrown except on the agent? This does not apply, however, to the blame which God has commanded us to bestow upon infidels. Thirdly, as to his saying, "Do not eat of men's food," the reason is that God is the Provider. If He makes a creature the means of giving you daily bread, do not regard that creature, but consider that the daily bread which God has caused to come to you does not belong to him but to God. If he thinks that it is his, and that he is thereby conferring a favour on you, do not accept it. In the matter of daily bread one person does not confer on another any favour at all, because, according to the opinion of the orthodox, daily bread is food (*ghidha*), although the Mu'tazilites hold it to be property (*milk*); and God, not any created being, nourishes mankind with food. This saying may be explained otherwise, if it be taken in a profane sense (*majaz*).

12. ABU YAZID TAYFUR B. 'ISA AL-BISTAMI

He is the greatest of the Shaykhs in state and dignity, so that Junayd said: "Abu Yazid holds the same rank among us as Gabriel among the angels." His grandfather was a Magian, and his father was one of the notables of Bistam. He is the author of many trustworthy relations concerning the Traditions of the Apostle, and he is one of the ten celebrated Imams of Sufism. No one before him penetrated so deeply into the arcana of this science. In all circumstances he was a lover of theology and a venerator

of the sacred law, notwithstanding the spurious doctrine which has been foisted on him by some persons with the object of supporting their own heresies. From the first, his life was based on self-mortification and the practice of devotion. It is recorded that he said: "For thirty years I was active in self-mortification, and I found nothing harder than to learn divinity and follow its precepts. But for the disagreement of divines I should have utterly failed in my endeavour. The disagreement of divines is a mercy save on the point of Unification." This is true indeed, for human nature is more prone to ignorance than to knowledge, and while many things can be done easily with ignorance, not a single step can be made easily with knowledge. The bridge of the sacred law is much narrower and more dangerous than the Bridge (Sirat) in the next world. Therefore it behoves thee so to act in all circumstances that, if thou shouldst not attain a high degree and an eminent station, thou mayst at any rate fall within the pale of the sacred law. Even if thou lose all else, thy practices of devotion will remain with thee. Neglect of those is the worst mischief that can happen to a novice.

It is related that Abu Yazid said: "Paradise hath no value in the eyes of lovers, and lovers are veiled (from God) by their love," i.e. Paradise is created, whereas love is an uncreated attribute of God. Whoever is detained by a created thing from that which is uncreated, is without worth and value. Created things are worthless in the eyes of lovers. Lovers are veiled by love, because the existence of love involves duality, which is incompatible with unification (*tawhid*). The way of lovers is from oneness to oneness, but there is in love this defect, that it needs a desirer (*murid*) and an object of desire (*murad*). Either God must be the desirer and Man the desired, or vice versa. In the former case, Man's being is fixed in God's desire, but if Man is the desirer and God the object of desire, the

creature's search and desire can find no way unto Him: in either case the canker of being remains in the lover. Accordingly, the annihilation of the lover in the everlastingness of love is more perfect than his subsistence through the everlastingness of love.

It is related that Abu Yazid said: "I went to Makkah and saw a House standing apart. I said, 'My Pilgrimage is not accepted, for I have seen many stones of this sort.' I went again, and saw the House and also the Lord of the House. I said, 'This is not yet real unification.' I went a third time, and saw only the Lord of the House. A voice in my heart whispered, 'O Bayazid, if thou didst not see thyself, thou wouldst not be a polytheist (*mushrik*) though thou sawest the whole universe; and since thou seest thyself, thou art a polytheist though blind to the whole universe.' Thereupon I repented, and once more I repented of my repentance, and yet once more I repented of seeing my own existence."

This is a subtle tale concerning the soundness of his state, and gives an excellent indication to spiritualists.

13. ABU 'ABDALLAH AL-HARITH B. ASAD AL-MUHASIBI

He was learned in the principal and derivative sciences, and his authority was recognized by all the theologians of his day. He wrote a book, entitled *Ri'ayat*,[11] on the principles of Sufism, as well as many other works. In every branch of learning he was a man of lofty sentiment and noble mind. He was the Chief Shaykh of Baghdad in his time. It is related that he said: *Al-'ilm bi-harakat al-qulub fi mutala'at al-ghuyub ashraf min al-'amal bi-harakat al-jawarih*, *i.e.* he who is acquainted with the secret

motions of the heart is better than he who acts with the motions of the limbs. The meaning is that knowledge is the place of perfection, whereas ignorance is the place of search, and knowledge at the shrine is better than ignorance at the door: knowledge brings a man to perfection, but ignorance does not even allow him to enter (on the way to perfection). In reality knowledge is greater than action, because it is possible to know God by means of knowledge, but impossible to attain to Him by means of action. If He could be found by action without knowledge, the Christians and the monks in their austerities would behold Him face to face and sinful believers would have no vision of Him. Therefore knowledge is a Divine attribute and action a human attribute. Some relaters of this saying have fallen into error by reading al-'amal bi-harakat al-qulub,[12] which is absurd, since human actions have nothing to do with the motions of the heart. If the author uses this expression to denote reflection and contemplation of the inward feelings, it is not strange, for the Apostle said: "A moment's reflection is better than sixty years of devotion," and spiritual actions are in truth more excellent than bodily actions, and the effect produced by inward feelings and actions is really more complete than the effect produced by outward actions. Hence it is said: "The sleep of the sage is an act of devotion and the wakefulness of the fool is a sin," because the sage's heart is controlled (by God) whether he sleeps or wakes, and when the heart is controlled the body also is controlled. Accordingly, the heart that is controlled by the sway of God is better than the sensual part of Man which controls his outward motions and acts of self-mortification. It is related that Harith said one day to a dervish, Kun lillah wa-illa la takun, "Be God's or be nothing," i.e. either be subsistent through God or perish to thine own existence; either be united with Purity (*safwat*) or separated by Poverty (*faqr*); either in the state described by the words "Bow ye down to Adam" (Qur.ii,32) or in the

state described by the words "Did there not come over Man a time when he was not anything worthy of mention?" (Qur.lxxvi,I). If thou wilt give thyself to God of thy own free choice, thy resurrection will be through thyself, but if thou wilt not, then thy resurrection will be through God.

14. ABU SULAYMAN DAWUD B. NUSAYR AL-TAI

He was a pupil of Abu Hanifa and a contemporary of Fudayl and Ibrahim b. Adham. In Sufism he was a disciple of Habib Ra'i. He was deeply versed in all the scciences and unrivalled in jurisprudence (*fiqh*); but he went into seclusion and turned his back on authority, and took the path of asceticism and piety. It is related that he said to one of his disciples: "If thou desirest welfare, bid farewell to this world, and if thou desirest grace (*karamat*), pronounce the takbir[13] over the next world," i.e. both these are places of veiling (places which prevent thee from seeing God). Every kind of tranquility (*faraghat*) depends on these two counsels. Whoever would be tranquil in body, let him turn his back on this world; and whoever would be tanquil in heart, let him clear his heart of all desire for the next world. It is a well-known story that Dawud used constantly to associate with Muhammad b. al-Hasan,[14] but would never receive the Qazi Abu Yusuf. On being asked why he honoured one of these eminent divines but refused to admit the other to his presence, he replied that Muhammad b. al-Hasan had become a theologian after being rich and wealthy, and theology was the cause of his religious advancement and worldly abasement, whereas Abu Yusuf had become a theologian after being poor and despised, and had made theology the means of gaining wealth and power. It is related that Ma'ruf Karkhi said: "I never saw anyone who held worldly goods in less account than Dawud Ta'i; the world and its people had no value whatsoever in his eyes, and he used to regard dervishes (*fuqara*) as perfect

although they were corrupt."

15. ABU 'L-HASAN SARI B. MUGHALLIS AL-SAQATI

He was the maternal uncle of Junayd. He was well versed in all the sciences and eminent in Sufi'ism, and he was the first of those who have devoted their attention to the arrangement of "stations" (*maqamat*) and to the explanation of spiritual "states" (*ahwal*). Most of the Shaykhs of 'Iraq are his pupils. He had seen Habib Ra'i and associated with him. He was a disciple of Ma'ruf Karkhi. He used to carry on the business of a huckster (*saqat-firush*) in the bazaar at Baghdad. When the bazaar caught fire, he was told that his shop was burnt. He replied: "Then I am freed from the care of it." Afterwards it was discovered that his shop had not been burnt, although all the shops surrounding it were destroyed. On seeing this, Sari gave all that he possessed to the poor and took the path of Sufi'ism. He was asked how the change in him began. He answered: "One day Habib Ra'i passed my shop, and I gave him a crust of bread, telling him to give it to the poor. He said to me, 'May God reward thee!' From the day when I heard this prayer my worldly affairs never prospered again." It is related that Sari said: "O God, whatever punishment thou mayst inflict upon me, do not punish me with the humiliation of being veiled from Thee," because, if I am not veiled from Thee, my torment and affliction will be lightened by the remembrance and contemplation of Thee; but if I am veiled from Thee, even Thy bounty will be deadly to me. There is no punishment in Hell more painful and hard to bear than that of being veiled. If God were revealed in Hell to the people of Hell, sinful believers would never think of Paradise, since the sight of God would so fill them with joy that they would not feel bodily pain. And in Paradise there is no pleasure more perfect than

unveiledness (*kashf*). If the people there enjoyed all the pleasures of that place and other pleasures a hundredfold, but were veiled from God, their hearts would be utterly broken. Therefore it is the custom of God to let the hearts of those who love Him have vision of Him always, in order that the delight thereof may enable them to endure every trabulation; and they say in their orisons: "We deem all torments more desirable than to be veiled from Thee. When Thy beauty is revealed to our hearts, we take no thought of affliction."

16. ABU 'ALI SHAQIQ B. IBRAHIM AL-AZDI

He was versed in all the sciences - legal, practical, and theoretical - and composed many works on various branches of Sufi'ism. He consorted with Ibrahim b. Adham and many other Shaykhs. It is related that he said: "God hath made the pious living in their death, and hath made the wicked dead during their lives," i.e., the pious, though they be dead, yet live, since the angels utter blessings on their piety until they are made immortal by the recompense which they receive at the Resurrection. Hence, in the annihilation wrought by death they subsist through the everlastingness of retribution. Once an old man came to Shaqiq and said to him: "O Shaykh, I have sinned much and now wish to repent." Shaqiq said: "Thou hast come late." The old man answered: "No, I have come soon. Whoever comes before he is dead comes soon, though he may have been long in coming." It is said that the occasion of Shaqiq's conversion was this, that one year there was a famine at Balkh, and the people were eating one another's flesh. While all the Muslims were bitterly distressed, Shaqiq saw a youth laughing and making merry in the bazaar. The people said: "Why do you laugh? Are not you ashamed to rejoice when everyone else is mourning?" The

youth said: "I have no sorrow. I am the servant of a man who owns a village as his private property, and he has relieved me of all care for my livelihood." Shaqiq exclaimed: "O Lord God, this youth rejoices so much in having a master who owns a single village, but Thou art the King of kings, and Thou hast promised to give us our daily bread; and nevertheless we have filled our hearts with all this sorrow because we are engrossed with worldly things." He turned to God and began to walk in the way of the Truth, and never troubled himself again about his daily bread. Afterwards he used to say: "I am the pupil of a youth; all that I have learned I learned from him." His humility led him to say this.

17. ABU SULAYMAN 'ABD AL-RAHMAN B. 'ATIYYA AL-DARANI

He was held in honour by the Sufis and was (called) the sweet basil of hearts (*rayhan-i dilha*). He is distinguished by his severe austerities and acts of self-mortification. He was versed in the science of "time" (*'ilm-i waqt*)[15] and in knowledge of the cankers of the soul, and had a keen eye for its hidden snares. He spoke in subtle terms concerning the pratice of devotion, and the watch that should be kept over the heart and the limbs. It is related that he said: "When hope predominates over fear, one's 'time' is spoilt," because "time" is the preservation of one's "state" (hal), which is preserved only so long as one is possessed by fear. If, on the other hand, fear predominates over hope, belief in Unity (*tawhid*) is lost, inasmuch as excessive fear springs from despair, and despair of God is polytheism (*shirk*). Accordingly, the maintenance of belief in Unity consists in right hope, and the maintenance of "time" in right fear, and both are maintained when hope and fear are equal. Maintenance of belief in Unity makes one a believer (*mu'min*), while maintenance of "time"

makes one pious (*muti*). Hope is connected entirely with contemplation (*mushahadah*), in which is involved a firm conviction (*i'tiqad*); and fear is connected entirely with purgation (*mujahadah*), in which is involved an anxious uncertainty (idtirab). Contemplation is the fruit of purgation, or, to express the same idea differently,, every hope is produced by despair. Whenever a man, on account of his actions, despairs of his future welfare, that despair shows him the way to salvation and welfare and Divine mercy, and opens to him the door of gladness, and clears away sensual corruptions from his heart, and reveals to it the Divine mysteries.

Ahmad b. Abi 'l-Hawari relates that one night, when he was praying in private, he felt great pleasure. Next day he told Abu Sulayman, who replied: "Thou art a weak man, for thou still hast mankind in view, so that thou art one thing in private and another in public." There is nothing in the two worlds that is sufficiently important to hold man back from God. When a bride is unveiled to the people, the reason is that everyone may see her and that she maybe honoured the more through being seen, but it is not proper that she should see anyone except the bridegroom, since she is disgraced by seeing anyone else. If all mankind should see the glory of a pious man's piety, he would suffer no harm, but if he sees the excellence of his own piety he is lost.

18. ABU MAHFUZ MA'RUF B. FIRUZ AL-KARKHI

He is one of the ancient and principal Shaykhs, and was famed for his generosity and devoutness. This notice of him should have come earlier in the book, but I have placed it here in accordance with two venerable persons who wrote before me, one of them a relater of traditions and the other an independent authority (*sahib tasarruf*) - I

mean Shaykh Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami, who in his work adopts the arrangement which I have followed, and the Master and Imam Abu 'l-Qasimal-Qushayri, who has put the notice of Ma'ruf in the same order in the introductory portion of his book.[16] I have chosen this arrangement because Ma'ruf was the master of Sari Saqati and the disciple of Dawud Ta'i. At first Ma'ruf was a non-Muslim (begana), but he made profession of Islam to 'Ali b. Musa al-Rida, who held him in the highest esteem. It is related that he said: "There are three signs of generosity - to keep faith without resistance, to praise without being incited thereto by liberality, and to give without being asked." In men all these qualities are merely borrowed, and in reality they belong to God, who acts thus towards His servants. God keeps unresisting faith with those who love Him, and although they show resistance in keeping faith with Him, He only increases His kindness towards them. The sign of God's keeping faith is this, that in eternity past He called His servant to His presence without any good action on the part of His servant, and that today He does not banish His servant on account of an evil action. He alone praises without the incitement of liberality, for He has no need of His servant's actions, and nevertheless extols him for a little thing that he has done. He alone gives without being asked, for He is generous and knows the state of everyone and fulfils his desire unasked. Accordingly, when God gives a man grace and makes him noble, and distinguishes him by His favour, and acts towards him in the three ways mentioned above, and when that man, as far as lies in his power, acts in the same way towards his fellow creatures, then he is called generous and gets a reputation for generosity. Abraham the Apostle possessed these three qualities in very truth, as I shall explain in the proper place.

19. ABU 'ABD AL-RAHMAN HATIM B. 'ULWAN[17] AL-ASAMM

He was one of the great men of Balkh and one of the ancient Shaykhs of Khurasan, a disciple of Shaqiq and the teacher of Ahmad Khadruya. In all his circumstances, from beginning to end, he never once acted untruthfully, so that Junayd said: "Hatim al-Asamm is the veracious one (*siddiq*) of our time." He has lofty sayings on the subtleties of discerning the cankers of the soul and the weaknesses of human nature, and is the author of famous works on ethics (*'ilm-i mu'amalat*). It is related that he said: "Lust is of three kinds - lust in eating, lust in speaking and lust in looking. Guard thy food by trust in God, thy tongue be telling the truth, and thine eye by taking example (*'ibrat*)." Real trust in God proceeds from right knowledge, for those who know Him aright have confidence that will give them their daily bread, and they speak and look with right knowledge, so that their food and drink is only love, and their speech is only ecstasy, and their looking is only contemplation. Accordingly, when they know aright they eat what is lawful, and when they speak aright they utter praise (of God), and when they look aright they behold Him, because no food is lawful except what He has given and permits to be eaten, and no praise is rightly offered to anyone in the eighteen thousand worlds except to Him, and it is not allowable to look on anything in the universe except His beauty and majesty. It is not lust when thou receivest food from Him and eatest by His leave, or when thou speakest of Him by His leave, or when thou seest His actions by His leave. On the other hand, it is lust when of thy own will thou eatest even lawful food, or of thy own will thou speakest even praise of Him, or of thy own will thou lookest even for the purpose of seeking guidance.

20. ABU 'ABDALLAH MUHAMMAD B. IDRIS AL-SHAFI'I

While he was at Madinah he was a pupil of the Imam Malik, and when he came to 'Iraq he associated with Muhammad b. al-Hasan. He always had a natural desire for seclusion, and used to seek an intimate comprehension of this way of life, until a party gathered round him and followed his authority. One of them was Ahmad b. Hanbal. Then Shafi'i became occupied with seeking position and exercising his authority as Imam, and was unable to retire from the world. At first he was not favourably disposed towards aspirants to Sufi'ism, but after seeing Sulayman Ra'i and obtaining admission to his society, he continued to seek the truth wherever he went. It is related that he said: "When you see a divine busying himself with indulgences (*rukhas*), no good thing will come from him," i.e. divines are the leaders of all classes of men, and no one may take precedence of them in any matter, and the way of God cannot be traversed without precaution and the utmost self-mortification, and to seek indulgences in divinity is the act of one who flees from self-mortification and prefers an alleviation for himself. Ordinary people seek indulgences to keep themselves within the pale of the sacred law, but the elect practise self-mortification to feel the fruit thereof in their hearts. Divines are among the elect, and when one of them is satisfied with behaving like ordinary people, nothing good will come from him. Moreover, to seek indulgences is to think lightly of God's commandment, and divines love God: a lover does not think lightly of the command of his beloved.

A certain Shaykh relates that one night he dreamed of the Prophet and said to him: "O Apostle of God, a tradition

has come down to me from thee that God hath upon the earth saints of diverse rank (*awtad u awliya u abrar*)." The Apostle said that the relater of the tradition had transmitted it correctly, and in answer to the Shaykh's request that he might see one of these holy men, he said: "Muhammad b. Idris is one of them."

21. THE IMAM AHMAD B. HANBAL

He was distinguished by devoutness and piety, and was the guardian of the Traditions of the Apostle. Sufis of all sects regard him as blessed. He associated with great Shaykhs, such as Dhu 'l-Nun of Egypt, Bishr al-Hafi, Sari al-Saqati, Ma'ruf al-Karkhi, and others. His miracles were manifest and his intelligence sound. The doctrines attributed to him today by certain Anthropomorphists are inventions and forgeries; he is to be acquitted of all notions of that sort. He had a firm belief in the principles of religion, and his creed was approved by all the divines. When the Mu'tazilites came into power at Baghdad, they wished to extort from him a confession that he Quran was created, and though he was a feeble old man they put him to the rack and gave him a thousand lashes. In spite of all this he would not say that the Quran was created. While he was undergoing punishment his *izar* became untied. His own hands were fettered, but another hand appeared and tied it. Seeing this evidence, they let him go. He died, however, of the wounds inflicted on that occasion. Shortly before his death some persons visited him and asked what he had to say about those who flogged him. He answered: "What should I have to say? They flogged me for God's sake, thinking that I was wrong and that they were right. I will not claim redress from them at the Resurrection for mere blows." He is the author of lofty sayings on ethics. When questioned on any point relating to practice he used to answer the question himself, but if it was a point of

mystical theory (*haqa'iq*) he would refer the questioner to Bishr Hafi. One day a man asked him: "What is sincerity (*ikhlas*)?" He replied: "To escape from the cankers of one's actions," i.e. let thy actions be free from ostentation and hypocrisy and self-interest. The questioner then asked: "What is trust (*tawakkul*)?" Ahmad replied: "Confidence in God, that He will provide thy daily bread." The man asked: "What is acquiescence (*rida*)?" He replied: "To commit thy affairs to God." "And what is love (*mahabbat*)?" Ahmad said: "Ask this question of Bishr Hafi, for I will not answer it while he is alive." Ahmad b. Hanbal was constantly exposed to persecution: during his life by the attacks of the Mu'tazilites, and after his death by the suspicion of sharing the views of the Anthropomorphists. Consequently the orthodox Muslims are ignorant of his true state and hold him suspect. But he is clear of all that is alleged against him.

22. ABU 'L-HASAN AHMAD B. ABI 'L-HAWARI

He was one of the most eminent of the Syrian Shaykhs and is praised by all the leading Sufis. Junayd said: "Ahmad b. Abi 'l-Hawari is the sweet basil of Syria (*rayhanat al-Sham*)." He was the pupil of Abu Sulayman Darani, and associated with Sufyan b. 'Uyayna and Marwan b. Mu'awiya the Quran-reader (al-Qari).[18] He had been a wandering devotee (*sayyah*). It is related that he said: "This world is a dunghill and a place where dogs gather; and one who lingers there is less than a dog, for a dog takes what he wants from it and goes, but the lover of the world never departs from it or leaves it at any time." At first he was a student and attained the rank of the Imams, but afterwards he threw all his books into the sea and said: "Ye were excellent guides, but it is impossible to occupy one's self with a guide after one has reached the goal," because a guide is needed only so long as the disciple is on the road:

when the shrine comes into sight the road and the gate are worthless. The Shaykhs have said that Ahmad did this in the state of intoxication (*sukr*). In the mystic Path he who says "I have arrived" has gone astray. Since arriving is non-accomplishment, occupation is (superfluous) trouble, and freedom from occupation is idleness, and in either case the principle of union (wusul) is non-existence, for both occupation and its opposite are human qualities. Union and separation alike depend on the eternal will and providence of God. Hence it is impossible to attain to union with Him. The terms "nearness" and "neighbourhood" are not applicable to God. A man is united to God when God holds him in honour, and separated from God when God holds him in contempt. I, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, say that possibly that eminent Shaykh in using the word "union" (*wusul*) may have meant "discovery of the way to God", for the way to God is not found in books; and when the road lies plain before one no explanation is necessary. Those who have attained true knowledge have no use for speech, and even less for books. Other Shaykhs have done the same thing as Ahmad b. Abi 'l-Hawari, for example the Grand Shaykh Abu Sa'id Fadlullah b. Muhammad al-Mayhani, and they have been imitated by a number of formalists whose only object is to gratify their indolence and ignorance. It would seem that those noble Shaykhs acted as they did from the desire of severing all worldly ties and making their hearts empty of all save God. This, however, is proper only in the intoxication of commencement (*ibtida*) and in the fervour of youth. Those who have become fixed (*mutamakkin*) are not veiled (from God) by the whole universe: how, then, by a sheet of paper? It may be said that the destruction of a book signifies the impossibility of expressing the real meaning (of an idea). In that case the same impossibility should be predicated of the tongue, because spoken words are no better than written ones. I imagine that Ahmad b. Abi 'l-Hawari, finding no listener in

his fit of ecstasy, wrote down an explantion of his feelings on pieces of paper, and having amassed a large quantity, did not regard them as suitable to be divulged and accordingly cast them into the water. It is also possible that he had collected many books, which diverted him from his devotional practices, and that he got rid of them for this reason.

23. ABU HAMID AHMAD B. KHADRUYA AL-BALKHI

He adopted the path of blame (malamat) and wore a soldier's dress. His wife Fatima, daughter of the Amir of Balkh, was renowned as a Sufi. When she desired to repent (of her former life), she sent a message to Ahmad bidding him ask her in marriage of her father. Ahmad refused, whereupon she sent another message in the following terms: "O Ahmad, I thought you would have been too manly to attack those who travel on the way to God. Be a guide (rahbar), not a brigand (rahbur)." Ahmad asked her in marriage of her father, who gave her to him in the hope of receiving his blessing. Fatima renounced all traffic with the world and lived in seclusion with her husband. When Ahmad went to visit Bayazid she accompanied him, and on seeing Bayazid she removed her veil and talked to him without embarrassment. Ahmad became jealous and said to her: "Why dost thou take this freedom with Bayazid?" She replied: "Because you are my natural spouse, but he is my religious consort; through you I come to my desire, but through him to God. The proof is that he has no need of my society, whereas to you it is necessary." She continued to treat Bayazid with the same boldness, until one day he observed that her hand was stained with henna and asked her why. She answered: "O Bayazid, so long as you did not see my hand and the henna I was at my ease with you, but

now that your eye has fallen on me our companionship is unlawful." Then Ahmad and Fatima came to Nishapur and abode there. The people and Shaykhs of Nishapur were well pleased with Ahmad. When Yahya b. Mu'adh al-Razi passed through Nishapur on his way from Rayy to Balkh, Ahmad wished to give him a banquet, and consulted with Fatima as to what things were required. She told him to procure so many oxen and sheep, such a such a quantity of sweet herbs, condiments, candles, and perfumes, and added, "We must also kill twenty donkeys." Ahmad said: "What is the sense of killing donkeys?" "Oh!" said she, "when a noble comes as guest to the house of a noble the dogs of the quarter have something too." Bayazid said of her: "Whoever wishes to see a man disguised in women's clothes, let him look at Fatima!" And Abu Hafs Haddad says: "But for Ahmad b. Khadruya generosity would not have been displayed." He has lofty saying to his credit, and faultless utterances (*anfas-i muhadhdhab*), and is the author of famous works in every branch of ethics and of brilliant discourses on mysticism. It is related that he said: "The way is manifest and the truth is clear, and the shephered has uttered his call; after this if anyone loses himself, it is through his own blindness," i.e., it is wrong to seek the way, since the way to God is like the blazing sun; do thou seek thyself, for when thou hast found thyself thou art come to thy journey's end, inasmuch as God is too manifest to admit of His being sought. He is recorded to have said: "Hide the glory of the poverty," i.e. do not say to people, "I am a dervish," lest thy secret be discovered, for it is a great grace bestowed on thee by God. It is related that he said: "A dervish invited a rich man to a repast in the month of Ramadan, and there was nothing in his house except a loaf of dry bread. On returning home the rich man sent to him a purse of gold. He sent it back, saying, 'This serves me right for revealing my secret to one like you.' The genuineness of his poverty led him to act thus."

24. ABU TURAB 'ASKAR B. AL-HUSAYN AL-NAKHSHABI AL-NASAFI

He was one of the chief Shaykhs of Khurasan, and was celebrated for his generosity, asceticism, and devoutness. He performed many miracles, and experienced marvellous adventures without number in the desert and elsewhere. He was one of the most noted travellers among the Sufis, and used to cross the deserts in complete disengagement from worldly things (*ba-tajrid*). His death took place in the desert of Basra. After many years had elapsed he was found standing erect with his face towards the Ka'abah, shrivelled up, with a bucket in front of him and a staff in his hand; and the wild beasts had not touched him or come near him. It is related that he said: "The food of the dervish is what he finds, and his clothing is what covers him, and his dwelling place is wherever he alights," i.e. he does not choose his own food or his own dress, or make a home for himself. The whole world is afflicted by these three items, and personal initiative therein keeps us in a state of distraction (*mashghuli*) while we make efforts to procure them. This is the practical aspect of the matter, but in a mystical sense the food of the dervish is ecstasy, and his clothing is piety, and his dwelling place is the Unseen, for God hath said, "If they stood firm in the right path, We should water them with abundant rain" (Qur.lxxii,16); and again, "and fair apparel; but the garment of piety, that is better" (Qur.vii,25); and the Apostle said, "Poverty is to dwell in the Unseen."

25. ABU ZAKARIYYA YAHYA B. MU'ADH AL-RAZI

He was perfectly grounded in the true theory of hope in God, so that Husri says: "God had two Yahyas, one a prophet and the other a saint. Yahya b. Zakariyya trod the

path of fear so that all pretenders were filled with fear and despaired of their salvation, while Yahya b. Mu'adh trod the path of hope so that he tied the hands of all pretenders to hope." They said to Husri: "The state of Yahya b. Zakariyya is well known, but what was the state of Yahya b. Mu'adh?" He replied: "I have been told that he was never in the state of ignorance (*jahiliyyat*) and never committed any of the greater sins (*kabira*)." In the practice of devotion he showed an intense perseverance which was beyond the power of anyone else. One of his disciples said to him: "O Shaykh, the station is the station of hope, but thy practice is the practice of those who fear." Yahya answered: "Know, my son, that to abandon the service of God is to go astray." Fear and hope are the two pillars of faith. It is impossible that anyone should fall into eror through practising either of them. Those who fear engage in devotion through fear of separation (from God), and those who hope engage in it through hope of union (with God). Without devotion neither fear nor hope can be truly felt, but when devotion is there this fear and hope are altogether metaphorical; and metaphors ('ibarat) are useless where devotion ('ibadat) is required. Yahya is the author of many books, fine sayings, and orginal precepts. He was the first of the Shaykhs of this sect, after the Orthodox Caliphs, to mount the pulpit. I am very fond of his sayings, which are delicately moulded and pleasant to the ear and subtle in substance and profitable in devotion. It is related that he said: "This world is an abode of troubles (*ashghal*) and the next world is an abode of terrors (*ahwal*), and Man never ceases to be amidst troubles or terrors until he finds rest either in Paradise or in Hell-fire." Happy the soul that has escaped from troubles and is secure from terrors, and has detached its thoughts from both worlds, and has attained to God! yahya held the doctrine that wealth is supeior to poverty. Having contracted many debts at Rayy, he set out for Khurasan. When he arrived at Balkh the poeple of that city detained

him for some time in order that he might discourse to them, and they gave him a hundred thousand dirhems. On his way back to Rayy he was attacked by brigands, who seized the whole sum. He came in a destitute condition to Nishapur, where he died. He was always honoured and held in respect by the people.

26. ABU HAFS 'AMR B. SALIM[19] AL-NISHAPURI AL-HADDADI[20]

He was an eminent Sufi, who is praised by all the Shaykhs. He associated with Abu 'Abdullah al-Abiwardi and Ahmad b. Khadruya. Shah Shuja came from Kirman to visit him. He did not know Arabic, and when he went to Baghdad to visit the Shaykhs there, his disciples said to one another: "It is a great shame that the Grand Shaykh of Khurasan should need an interpreter to make him understand what they say." However, when he met the Shaykhs of Baghdad, including Junayd, in the Shuniziyya Mosque, he conversed with them in elegant Arabic, so that they despaired of rivalling his eloquence. They asked him: "What is generosity?" He said: "Let one of you begin and declare what it is." Junayd said: "In my opinion generosity consists in not regarding your generosity and in not referring it to yourself." Abu Hafs replied; "How well the Shaykh has spoken! but in my opinion generosity consists in doing justice and in not demanding justice." Junayd said to his disciples: "Rise! for Abu Hafs has surpassed Adam and all his descendants (in generosity)." His conversion is related as follows. He was enamoured of a girl, and on the advice of his friends sought help from a certain Jew living in the city (sharistan) of Nishapur. The Jew told him that he must perform no prayers for forty days, and not praise God or do any good deed or form any good intention; he would then devise a means whereby Abu Hafs should gain his desire. Abu Hafs complied with these instructions, and

after forty days the Jew made a talisman as he had promised, but it proved ineffectual. He said : "You have undoubtedly done some good deed. Think!" Abu Hafs replied that the only good thing of any sort that he had done was to remove a stone which he found on the road lest some one might stumble on it. The Jew said to him: "Do not offend that God who has not let such a small act of yours be wasted though you have neglected His commands for forty days." Abu Hafs repented, and the Jew became a Muslim.

Abu Hafs continued to ply the trade of a blacksmith until he went to Baward and took the vows of discipleship to Abu 'Abdullah Bawardi. One day, after his return to Nishapur, he was sitting in his shop listening to a blind man who was reciting the Quran in the bazaar. He became so absorbed in listening that he put his hand into the fire and without using the pincers, drew out a piece of molten iron from the furnace. On seeing this the apprentice fainted. When Abu Hafs came to himself he left his shop and no longer earned his livelihood. It is related that he said: "I left work and returned to it; then work left me and I never returned to it again," because when anyone leaves a thing by one's own act and effort, the leaving of it is no better than the taking of it, inasmuch as all acquired acts (aksab) are contaminated, and derive their value from the spiritual influence which flows from the Useen without effort on our part; which influence, wherever it descends, is united with the choice of Man and loses its pure spirituality. Therefore Man cannot properly take or leave anything; it is God who in His providence gives and takes away, and Man only takes what God has given or leaves what God has taken away. Though a disciple should strive a thousand years to win the favour of God, it would be worthless than if God received him into favour for a single moment, since everlasting future happiness is involved in the favour of

past eternity, and Man has no means of escape except by the unalloyed bounty of God. Honoured, then, is he from whose state the Causer has removed all secondary causes.

27. ABU SALIH HAMDUN B. AHMAD B. 'UMARA AL-QASSAR

He belonged to the ancient Shaykhs, and was one of those who were scrupulously devout. He attained the highest rank in jurispurudence and divinity, in which sciences he was a follower of Thawri.[21] In Sufi'ism he was a disciple of Abu Turab Nakhshabi and 'Ali Nasrabadi. When he became renowned as a theologian, the Imams and notables of Nishapur urged him to mount the pulpit and preach to the people, but he refused, saying: "My heart is still attached to the world, and therefore my words will make no impression on the hearts of others. To speak unprofitable words is to despise theology and deride the sacred law. Speech is permissible to him alone whose silence is injurious to religion, and whose speaking would remove the injury." On being asked why the sayings of the early Muslims were more beneficial than those of his contemporaries to men's hearts, he replied: "Because they discoursed for the glory of Islam and the salvation of souls and the satisfaction of the Merciful God, whereas we discourse for the glory of ourselves and the quest of wordly gain and the favour of mankind." Whoever speaks in accordance with God's will and by Divine impulsion, his words have a force and vigour that makes an impression on the wicked, but if anyone speaks in accordance with his own will, his words are weak and tame and do not benefit his hearers.

28. ABU 'L-SARI MANSUR B. 'AMMAR

He belonged to the school of 'Iraq, but was approved by the people of Khurasan. His sermons were unequalled for beauty of language and elegance of exposition. He was learned in all the branches of divinity, in traditions, sciences, principles, and practices. Some aspirants to Sufi'ism exaggerate his merits beyond measure. It is related that he said: "Glory be to Him who hath made the hearts of gnostic vessels of praise (*dhikr*), and the hearts of ascetics vessels of trust (*tawakkul*), and the hearts of those who trust (*mutawakkilin*) vessels of acquiescence (*rida*), and the hearts of dervishes (fuqara) vessels of contentment, and the hearts of worldlings vessels of covetousness!" It is worthwhile to consider that whereas God has placed in every member of the body and in every sense a homogeneous quality, e.g., in the hands that of seizing, in the feet that of walking, in the eye seeing, in the ear hearing, He has placed in each individual heart a diverse quality and a different desire, so that one is the seat of knowledge, another of error, another of contentment, another of covetousness, and so on: hence the marvels of Divine action are in nothing manifested more clearly than in human hearts. And it is related that he said: "All mankind may be reduced to two types -- the man who knows himself, and whose business is self-mortification and discipline, and the man who knows his Lord, and whose business is to serve and worship and please Him." Accordingly, the worship of the former is discipline (*riyadat*), while the worship of the latter is sovereignty (*riyasat*) : the former practises devotion in order that he may attain a high degree, but the latter practises devotion having already attained all. What a vast difference between the two! One subsists in self-mortification (*mujahadah*), the other in contemplation (*mushahadah*). And it is related that

he said: "There are two classes of men: those who have need of God -- and they hold the highest rank from the standpoint of the sacred law -- and those who pay no regard to their need of God, because they know that God has provided for their creation and livelihood and death and life and happiness and misery: they need God alone, and having him are independent of all else." The former, through seeing their own need, are veiled from seeing the Divine providence, whereas the latter, through not seeing their own need, are unveiled and independent. The former enjoy felicity, but the latter enjoy the Giver of felicity.

29. ABU 'ABDALLAH AHMAD B. 'ASIM AL-INTAKI

He lived to a great age and associated with the ancient Shaykhs, and was acquainted with those who belonged to the third generation after the Prophet (*atba al-tabi'in*). He was a contemporary of Bishr and Sari, and a pupil of Harith Muhasibi. He had seen Fudayl and consorted with him. It is related that he said: "The most beneficial poverty is that which you regard as honourable, and with which you are well pleased," i.e. the honour of the vulgar consists in affirmation of secondary causes, but the honour of the dervish consists in denying secondary causes and in affirming the Causer, and in referring everything to Him, and in being well pleased with His decrees. Poverty is the non-existence of secondary causes, whereas wealth is the existence of secondary causes. Poverty detached from a secondary cause is with God, and wealth attached to a secondary cause is with itself. Therefore, secondary causes involve the state of being veiled (from God), while their absence involves the state of unveiledness. This is a clear explanation of the superiority of poverty to wealth.

30. ABU MUHAMMAD 'ABDALLAH B. KHUBAYQ

He was an ascetic and scrupulously devout. He has

related trustworthy traditions, and in jurisprudence, as well as in the practice and theory of divinity, he followed the doctrine of Thawri, with whose pupils he had associated. It is recorded that he said: "Whoever desires to be living in his life, let him not admit covetousness to dwell in his heart," because the covetous man is dead in the toils of his covetousness, which is like a seal on his heart; and the sealed heart is dead. Blessed is the heart that dies to all save God and lives through God, inasmuch as God has made His praise (*dhikr*) the glory of men's hearts, and covetousness their disgrace; and to this effect is the saying of 'Abdullah b. Khubayq: "God created men's hearts to be the homes of His praise, but they have become the homes of lust; and nothing can clear them of lust except an agitating fear or a restless desire." Fear and desire (*shawq*) are the two pillars of faith. When faith is settled in the heart, praise and contentment accompany it, not covetousness and heedlessness. Lust and covetousness are the result of shunning the society of God. The heart that shuns the society of God knows nothing of faith, since faith is intimate with God and averse to associate with aught else.

31. ABU 'L-QASIM AL-JUNAYD B. MUHAMMAD B. AL-JUNAYD AL-BAGHDADI

He was approved by externalists and spiritualists alike. He was perfect in every branch of science, and spoke with authority on theology, jurisprudence, and ethics. He was a follower of Thawri. His sayings are lofty and his inward state perfect, so that all Sufis unanimously acknowledge his leadership. His mother was the sister of Sari Saqati, and Junayd was the disciple of Sari. One day Sari was asked whether the rank of a disciple is ever higher than that of his spiritual director. He replied: "Yes; there is manifest proof of this: the rank of Junayd is above mine." It was the humility and insight of Sari that caused him to say this. As

is well known Junayd refused to discourse to his disciples so long as Sari was alive, until one night he dreamed that the Apostle said to him: "O Junayd, speak to the people, for God hath made thy words the means of saving a multitude of mankind." When he awoke the thought occurred to him that his rank was superior to that of Sari, since the Apostle had commanded him to preach. At daybreak Sari sent a disciple to Junayd with the following message: "You would not discourse to your disciples when they urged you to do so, and you rejected the intercession of the Shaykhs of Baghdad and my personal entreaty. Now that the Apostle has commanded you, obey his orders." Junayd said: "That fancy went out of my head. I perceived that Sari was acquainted with my outward and inward thoughts in all circumstances, and that his rank was higher than mine, since he was acquainted with my secret thoughts, whereas I was ignorant of his state. I went to him and begged his pardon, and asked him how he knew that I had dreamed of the Apostle. He answered: I dreamed of God, who told me that He had sent the Apostle to bid you preach." This anecdote contains a clear indication that spiritual directors are in every case acquainted with the inward experiences of their disciples.

It is relatede that he said: "The speech of the prophets gives information concerning presence (*hudur*), while the speech of the saints (*siddiqin*) alludes to contemplation (*mushahadah*)." True information is derived from sight, and it is impossible to give true information of anything that one has not actually witnessed, whereas allusion (*isharat*) involves reference to another thing. Hence the perfection and ultimate goal of the saints is the beginning of the state of the prophets. The distinction between prophet (*nabi*) and saint (*wali*), and the superiority of the former to the latter, is plain, notwithstanding that two heretical sects declare the saints to surpass the prophets in

excellence. It is related that he said: "I was eagerly desirous of seeing Iblis. One day, when I was standing in the mosque, and old man came through the door and turned his face towards me. Horror seized my heart. When he came near I said to him, 'Who art thou? for I cannot bear to look on thee, or think of thee.' He answered, 'I am he whom you desired to see.' I exclaimed, 'O accursed one! what hindered thee from bowing down to Adam?' He answered, 'O Junayd, how can you imagine that I should bow down to anyone except God?' I was amazed at his saying this, but a secret voice whispered: 'Say to him, *Thou liest. Hadst thou been an obedient servant thou wouldst not have transgressed His command.'* Iblis heard the voicc in my heart. He cried out and said, By God, you have burnt me!' and vanished." This story shows that God preserves His saints in all circumstances from the guile of Satan. One of Junayd's disciples bore him a grudge, and after leaving him returned one day with the intention of testing him. Junayd was aware of this and said replying to his question: "Do you want a formal or a spiritual answer?" The disciple said: "Both." Junayd said: "The formal answer is that if you had tested yourself you would not have needed to test me. The spiritual answer is that I depose you from your saintship." The disciple's face immediately turned black. He cried, "The delight of certainty (*yaqin*) is gone from my heart," and earnestly begged to be forgiven, and abandoned his foolish self-conceit. Junayd said to him: "Did not you know that God's saints possess mysterious powers? You cannot endure their blows." He cast a breath at the disciple, who forthwith resumed his former purpose and repented of cirticizing the Shaykhs.

32. ABU 'L-HASAN AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD AL-NURI

He has a peculiar doctrine in Sufi'ism and is the model of a

number of aspirants to Sufi'ism, who follow him and are called Nuris. The whole body of aspirants to Sufi'ism is composed of twelve sects, two of which are condemned (*mardud*), while the remaining ten are approved (*maqbul*). The latter are the Muhasibis, the Qassaris, the Tayfuris, the Junaydis, the Nuris, the Sahlis, the Hakimis, the Kharrazis, the Khafifis, and the Sayyaris. All these assert the truth and belong to the mass of orthodox Muslims. The two condemned sects are, firstly, the Hululis,[22] who derive their name from the doctrine of incarnation (*hulul*) and incorporation (*imtizaj*), and with whom are connected the Salimi sect of anthropomorphists;[23] and secondly, the Hallajis, who have abandoned the sacred law and have adopted heresy, and with whom are connected the Ibahatis[24] and the Farisis.[25] I shall include in this book a chapter on the twelve sects and shall explain their different doctrines.

Nuri took a praiseworthy course in rejecting flattery and indulgence and in being assiduous in self-mortification. It is related that he said: "I came to Junayd and found him seated in the professional chair (*musaddar*). I said to him: 'O Abu 'l-Qasim, thou hast concealed the truth from them and they have put thee in the place of honour; but I have told them the truth and they have pelted me with stones." because flattery is compliance with one's desire and sincerity is opposition to it, and men hate anyone who opposes their desires and love anyone who complies with their desires. Nuri was the companion of Junayd and the disciple of Sari. He had associated with many Shaykhs, and had met Ahmad b. Abi 'l-Hawari. he is the author of subtle precepts and fine sayings on various branches of the mystical science. It is related that he said: "Union with God is separation from all else, and separation from all else is union with Him," i.e., anyone whose mind is united with God is separated from all besides, and *vice versa*: therefore

union of the mind with God is separation from the thought of created things, and to be rightly turned away from phenomena is to be rightly turned towards God. I have read in the Anecdotes that once Nuri stood in his chamber for three days and nights, never moving from his place or ceasing to wail. Junayd went to see him and said: "O Abu 'l-Hasan, if thou knowest that crying aloud to God is of any use, tell me, in order that I too may cry aloud; but if thou knowest that it avails naughts, surrender thyself to acquiescence in God's will, in order that thy heart may rejoice." Nuri stopped wailing and said: "Thou teachest me well, O Abu 'l-Qasim!" It is related that he said: "The two rearest things in our time are a learned man who practises what he knows and a gnostic who speaks from the reality of his state," i.e., both learning and gnosis are rare, since learning is not learning unless it is practised, and gnosis is not gnosis unless it has reality. Nuri referred to his own age, but these things are rare at all times, and they are rare today. Anyone who should occupy himself in seeking for learned men and gnostics would waste his time and would not find them. Let him be occupied with himself in order that he may see learning everywhere, and let him turn from himself to God in order that he may see gnosis everywhere. Let him seek learning and gnosis in himself, and let him demand practice and reality from himself. It is related that Nuri said: "Those who regard things as determined by God turn to God in everything," because they find rest in regarding the Creator, not created objects, whereas they would always be in tribulation if they considered things to be the causes of actions. To do so is polytheism, for a cause is not self-subsistent, but depends on the Causer. When they turn to Him they escape from trouble.

33. ABU 'UTHMAN SAID B. ISMAIL AL-HIRI

He is one of the eminent Sufis of past times. At first he

associated with Yahya b. Mu'adh; then he consorted for a while with Shah Shuja of Kirman, and accompanied him to Nishapur on a visit to Abu Hafs, with whom he remained to the end of his life. It is related on trustworthy authority that he said: "In my childhood I was continually seeking the Truth, and the externalists inspired me with a feeling of abhorrence. I perceived that the sacred law concealed a mystery under the superficial forms which are followed by the vulgar. When I grew up I happened to hear a discourse by Yahya b. Mu'adh of Rayy, and I found there the mystery that was the object of my search. I continued to associate with Yahya until on hearing reports of Shah Shuja Kirmani from a number of persons who had been in his company, I felt a longing to visit him. Accordingly I quitted Rayy and set out for Kirman. Shah Shuja, however, would not admit me to his society. 'You have been nursed,' said he, 'in the doctrine of hope (*raja*), on which Yahya takes his stand. No one who has imbibed this doctrine can tread the path of purgation, because a mechanical belief in hope produces indolence.' I besought him earnestly, and lamented and stayed at his door for twenty days. At length he admitted me, and I remained in his society until he took me with him to visit Abu Hafs at Nishapur. On this occasion Shah Shuja was wearing a coat (*qaba*). When Abu Hafs saw him he rose from his seat and advanced to meet him, saying, 'I have found in the coat what I sought in the cloak ('aba). During our residence in Nishapur I conceived a strong desire to associate with Abu Hafs, but was restrained from devoting myself to attendance on him by my respect for Shah Shuja. Meanwhile I was imploring God to make it possible for me to enjoy the society of Abu Hafs without hurting the feelings of Shah Shuja, who was a jealous man; and Abu Hafs was aware of my wishes. On the day of our departure I dressed myself for the journey, although I was leaving my heart with Abu Hafs. Abu Hafs said familiarly to Shah Shuja, 'I am pleased with this youth; let him stay

here.' Shah Shuja turned to me and said, 'Do as the Shaykh bids thee.' So I remained with Abu Hafs and experienced many wonderful things in his company." God caused Abu 'Uthman to pass through three "stations", by means of three spiritual directors, and these "stations", which he indicated as belonging to them, he also made his own: the "station" of hope through associating with Yahya, the "station" of jealousy through associating with Shah Shuja, and the "station" of affection (*shafaqat*) through associating with Abu Hafs. It is allowable for a disciple to associate with five or six or more directors and to have a different "station" revealed to him by each one of them, but it is better that he should not confuse his own "station" with theirs. He should point to their perfection in that "station" and say: "I gained this by associating with them, but they were superior to it." This is more in accordance with good manners, for spiritual adepts have nothing to do with "stations" and "states".

To Abu 'Uthman was due the divulgation of Sufi'ism in Nishapur and Khurasan. He consorted with Junayd, Ruwaym, Yusuf b. al-Husayn, and Muhammad b. Fadl al-Balkhi, and no Shaykh ever derived as much spiritual advantage from his directors as he did. The people of Nishapur set up a pulpit that he might discourse to them on Sufi'ism. He is the author of sublime treatises on various branches of this science. It is related that he said: "It behoves on whom God hath honoured with gnosis not to dishonour himself by disobedience to God." This refers to actions acquired by Man and to his continual effort to keep the commandments of God, because, even though you recognize that it is worthy of God not to dishonour by disobedience anyone whom He has honoured with gnosis, yet gnosis is God's gift and disobedience is Man's act. It is impossible that one who is honoured with God's gift should be dishonoured by his own act. God honoured Adam with

knowledge: He did not dishonour him on account of his sin.

34. ABU ABDULLAH AHMAD B. YAHYA AL-JALLA

He associated with Junayd and Abu 'l-Hasan Nuri and other great Shaykhs. It is recorded that he said: "The mind of the gnostic is fixed on his Lord; he does not pay attention to anything else," because the gnostic knows nothing except gnosis, and since gnosis is the whole capital of his heart, his thoughts are entirely bent on vision (of God), for distraction of thought produces cares, and cares keep one back from God. He tells the following story: "One day I saw a beautiful Christian boy. I was amazed at his loveliness and stood still oppositie him. Junayd passed by me. I said to him, 'O master, will God burn a facc like this in Hell-fire?' He answered: 'O my son, this is a trick of the flesh, not a look by which one takes warning. If you look with due consideration, the same marvel is existent in every atom of the universe. You will soon be punished for this want of respect.' When Junayd turned away from me I immediately forgot the Quran, and it did not come back to my memory until I had for years implored God to help me and had repented of my sin. Now I dare not pay heed to any created object or waste my time by looking at things."

35. ABU MUHAMMAD RUWAYM B. AHMAD

He was an intimate friend of Junayd. In jurisprudence he followed Dawud,[26] and he was deeply versed in the sciences relating to the interpretation and reading of the Quran. He was famed for the loftiness of his state and the exaltedness of his station, and for his journeys in detachment from the world (*tajrid*), and for his severe austerities. Towards the end of his life he hid himself among the rich and gained the Caliph's confidence, but such was the perfection of his spiritual rank that he was not

thereby veiled from God. Hence Junayd said: "We are devotees occupied (with the world), and Ruwaym is a man occupied (with the world) who is devoted (to God)." He wrote several works on Sufi'ism, one of which, entitled *Ghalat al-Wajidin*,[27] deserves particular mention. I am exceedingly fond of it. One day he was asked, "How are you?" He replied: "How is he whose religion is his lust and whose thought is (fixed on) his worldly affairs, who is neither a pious God fearing man nor a gnostic and one of God's elect?" This refers to the vices of the soul that is subject to passion and regards lust as its religion. Sensual men consider anyone to be devout who complies with their inclinations, even though he be a heretic, and anyone to be irreligious who thwarts their desires, even though he be a pietist. This is a widely spread disease at the present time. God save us from associating with any such person! Ruwaym doubtless gave this answer in reference to the inward state of the questioner, which he truly diagnosed, or it may be that God had temporarily allowed him to fall into that condition, and that he described himself as he then was in reality.

36. ABU YA'QUB YUSUF B. AL-HUSAYN AL-RAZI

He was one of the ancient Shaykhs and great Imams of his age. He was a disciple of Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian, and consorted with a large number of Shaykhs and performed service to them all. It is related that he said: "The meanest of mankind is the covetous dervish and he who loves his beloved, and the noblest of them is the veracious (*al-siddiq*)." Covetousness renders the dervish ignominious in both worlds, because he is already despicable in the eyes of worldlings, and only becomes more despicable if he builds any hopes on them. Wealth with honour is far more perfect than poverty with disgrace. Covetousness causes the dervish to incur the imputation of sheer mendacity. Again,

he who loves his beloved is the meanest of mankind, since the lover acknowledges himself to be very despicable in comparison with his beloved and abases himself before her, and this also is the result of desire. So long as Zulaykha desired Yusuf, she became every day more mean: when she cast desire away, God gave her beauty and youth back to her. It is a law that when the lover advances, the beloved retires. If the lover is satisfied with love alone, then the beloved draws near. In truth, the lover has honour only while he has no desire for union. Unless his love diverts him from all thought of union or separation, his love is weak.

37. ABU 'L-HASAN SUMNUN B. 'ABDULLAH AL-KHAWWAS

He was held in great esteem by all the Shaykhs. They called him Sumnun the Lover (*al-Muhibb*), but he called himself Sumnun the Liar (*al-Kadhdhab*). He suffered much persecution at the hands of Ghulam al-Khalil,[28] who had made himself known to the Caliph and courtiers by his pretended piety and Sufi'ism. This hypocrite spoke evil of the Shaykhs and dervishes, hoping to bring about their banishment from Court and to establish his own power. Fortunate indeed were Sumnun of having attempted her virtue. He listened eagerly to her slanders, and induced the Caliph to command that Sunnun and those Shaykhs to have only one adversary of this sort. In the present day there are a hundred Ghulam al-Khalils for every true spiritualist, but what matter? Carrion is fit food for vultures. When Sumnun gained eminence and popularity in Baghdad, Ghulam al-Khalil began to intrigue. A woman had fallen in love with Sumnun and made proposals to him, which he refused. She went to Junayd, begging him to advise Sumnun to marry her. On being sent away by Junayd, she came to Ghulam al-Khalil and accused Sumnun should be put to death.

When the Caliph was about to give the word to the executioner his tongue stuck in his throat. The same night he dreamed that his empire would last no longer than Sumnun's life. Next day he asked his pardon and restored him to favour. Sumnun is the author of lofty sayings and subtle indications concerning the real nature of love. On his way from the Hijaz the people of Fayd requested him to discourse to them about this subject. He mounted the pulpit, but while he was speaking all his hearers departed. Sumnun turned to the lamps and said: "I am speaking to you." Immediately all the lamps collapsed and broke into small bits. It is related that he said: "A thing can be explained only by what is more subtle than itself: there is nothing subtler than love: by what, then, shall love be explained?" The meaning of this is that love cannot be explained because explanation is an attribute of the explainer. Love is an attribute of the Beloved, therefore no explanation of its real nature is possible.

38. ABU 'L-FAWARIS SHAH SHUJA' AL-KIRMANI

He was of royal descent. He associated with Abu Turab Nakhshabi and many other Shaykhs. Something has been said of him in the notice of Abu 'Uthman al-Hiri. He composed a celebrated treatise on Sufi'ism as well as a book entitled Mir'at al-Hukama.[29] It is recorded that he said: "The eminent have eminence until they see it, and the saints have saintship until they see it," i.e., whoever regards his eminence loses its reality, and whoever regards his saintship loses its reality. His biographers relate that for forty years he never slept; then he fell asleep and dreamed of God. "O Lord," he cried, "I was seeking Thee in nightly vigils, but I have found Thee in sleep." God answered: "O Shah, you have found Me by means of those nightly vigils: if you had not sought Me there, you would not have found Me here."

39. 'AMR B. 'UTHMAN AL-MAKKI

He was one of the principal Sufis, and is the author of celebrated works on the mystical sciences. He became a disciple of Junayd after he had seen Abu Said Kharraz and had associated with Nibaji.[30] He was the Imam of his age in theology. It is related that he said: "Ecstasy does not admit of explanation, because it is a secret between God and the true believers." Let men seek to explain it as they will, their explanation is not that secret, inasmuch as all human power and effort is divorced from the Divine mysteries. It is said that when 'Amr came ot Isfahan a young man associated with him against the wish of his father. The young man fell into a sickness. One day the Shaykh with a number of friends came to visit him. He begged the Shaykh to bid the singer (*qawwal*) chant a few verses, where upon 'Amr desired the singer to chant -

Ma li maridtu wa-lam ya'udni 'a'id
Minkum wa-yamradu 'abdukum fa-a'udu.

"How is it that when I fell ill non of you visited me,
Though I visit your slave when he falls ill?

On hearing this the invalid left his bed and sat down, and the violence of his malady was diminished. He said: "Give me some more." So the singer chanted -

Wa-ashaddu min maradi 'alayya sududukum
Wa-sududu 'abdikumu 'alayya shadidu.

"Your neglect is more grievous to me than my sickness;
It would grieve me to neglect your slave."

The young man's sickness departed from him. His father permitted him to associate with 'Amr and repented of

the suspicion which he had harboured in his heart, and the youth became an eminent Sufi.

40. ABU MUHAMMAD SAHL B. 'ABDULLAH AL-TUSTARI

His austerities were great and his devotions excellent. He has fine sayings on sincerity and the defects of human actions. The formal divines say that he combined the Law and the Truth (*jama'a bayn al-shari'at wa'l-haqiqat*). this statement is erroneous, for the two things have never been divided. *The Law is the Truth*, and the Truth is the Law. Their assertion is founded on the fact that the sayings of this Shaykh are more intelligible and easy to apprehend than is sometimes the case Inasmuch as God has joined the Law to the Truth, it is impossible that His saints should separate them. If they be separated, one must inevitably be rejected and the other accepted. Rejection of the Law is heresy, and rejection of the Truth is infidelity and polytheism. Any (proper) separation between them is made, not to establish a difference of meaning, but to affirm the Truth, as when it is said: "The words there is no God save Allah are Truth, and the words Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah are Law." No one can separate the one from the other without impairing his faith, and it is vain to wish to do so. In short, the Law is a branch of the Truth: knowledge of God is Truth, and obedience to His command is Law. These formalists deny whatever does not suit their fancy, and it is dangerous to deny one of the fundamental principles of the Way to God. Praise be to Allah for the faith which He has given us! And it is related that he said: "The sun does not rise or set upon anyone on the face of the earth who is not ignorant of God, unless he prefers God to his own soul and spirit and to his present and future life," i.e., if anyone cleaves to self-interest, that is a proof that he is ignorant of God, because knowledge of God requires

abandonment of forethought (*tadbir*), and abandonment of fore thought is resignation (*taslim*), whereas perseverance in forthought arises from ignorance of predestination.

41. ABU MUHAMMAD 'ABDULAH MUHAMMAD B. AL-FADL AL-BALKHI

He was approved by the people of 'Iraq as well as by those of Khurasan. He was a pupil of Ahmad b. Khadruya, and Abu 'Uthman of Hira had a great affection for him. Having been expelled from Balkh by fanatics on account of his love of Sufi'ism, he went to Samarcand, where he passed his life. It is related that he said: "He that has most knowledge of God is he that strives hardest to fulfil His commandments, and follows most closely the custom of His Prophet." The nearer one is to God the more eager one is to do His bidding, and the farther onc is from God the more averse one is to follow His Apostle. It is related that he said:"I wonder at those who cross deserts and wildernesses to reach His House and Sanctuary, because the traces of His prophets are to be found there: why do not they cross their own passions and lusts to reach their hearts, where they will find the traces of their Lord?" That is to say, the heart is the seat of knowledge of God and is more venerable than the Ka'bahh, to which men turn in devotion. Men are ever looking towards the Ka'bah, but God is ever looking towards the heart. Wherever the heart is, my Beloved is there; wherever His decree is, my desire is there; wherever the traces of my prophets[31] are, the eyes of those whom I love are directed there.

42. ABU 'ABDULLAH MUHAMMAD B. 'ALI AL-TIRMIDHI

He is the author of many excellent books which, by their eloquence, declare the miracles vouchsafed to him,

e.g., the *Khatm al-Wilayat*,[32] the *Kitab al-Nahj*,[33] the Nawadir al-Usul,[34] and many more, such as the *Kitab al-Tawhid*[35] and the *Kitab 'Adhab al-Qabr*:[36] it would be tedious to mention them all. I hold him in great veneration and am entirely devoted to him. My Shaykh said: "Muhammad is a union pearl that has no like in the whole world." He has also written works on the formal sciences, and is a trutworthy authority for the traditions of the Prophet which he related. He bagan a commentary on the Quran, but did not live long enough to finish it. The completed portion is widely circulated among theologians. He studied jurisprudence with an intimate friend of Abu Hanifa. The inhabitants of Tirmidh call him Muhammad Hakim, and the Hakimis, a Sufi sect in that region, are his followers. Many remarkable stories are told of him, as for instance that he associated with the Apostle Khidr. His disciple, Abu Bakr Warraq, relates that Khidr used to visit him every Sunday, and that they conversed with each other. It is recorded that he said: "Anyone who is ignorant of the nature of servantship (*'ubudiyyat*) is yet more ignorant of the nature of lordship (*rububiyyat*)," i.e., whoever does not know the way to knowledge of himself does not know the way to knowledge of God, and whoever does not recognize the contamination of human qualities does not recognize the purity of the Divine attributes, inasmuch as the outward is connected with the inward, and he who claims to possess the former without the latte makes an absurd assertion. Knowledge of the nature of lordship depends on having right principles of servantship, and is not perfect without them. This is a very profound and instructive saying. It will be fully explained in the proper place.

43. ABU BAKR MUHAMMAD B. 'UMAR AL-WARRAQ

He was a great Shaykh and ascetic. He had seen

Ahmad b. Khadruya and associated with Muhammad b. 'Ali. He is the author of books on rules of discipline and ethics. The Sufi Shaykhs have called him "The Instructor of the Saints" (*mu'addib al-awliya*). He relates the following story: "Muhammad b. 'Ali handed to me some of his writings with the request that I should throw them into the Oxus. I had not the heart to do so, but placed them in my house and came to him and told him that I had carried out his order. He asked me what I had seen. I replied, 'Nothing.' He said, 'You have not obeyed me; return and throw them into the river.' I returned, doubting the promised sign, and cast them into the river. The waters parted and a chest appeared, with its lid open. As soon as the papers fell into it, the lid closed and the waters joined again and the chest vanished. I went back to him and told him what had occurred. He answered, 'Now you have thrown them in.' I begged him to explain the mystery. He said: 'I composed a work on theology and mysticism which could hardly be comprehended by the intellect. My brother Khidr desired it of me, and God bade the waters bring it to him."

It is related that Abu Bakr Warraq said: "There are three classes of men - divines (*'ulama*) and princes (*umara*) and dervishes (*fuqara*). When the divines are corrupt, piety and religion are vitiated; when the princes are corrupt, men's livelihood is spoiled; and when the dervishes are corrupt, men's morals are depraved." Accordingly, the corruption of the divines consists in covetousness, that of the princes in injustice, and that of the dervishes in hypocrisy. Princes do not become corrupt until they turn their backs on divines, and divines do not become corrupt until they associate with princes, and dervishes do not become corrupt until they seek ostentation, because the injustice of princes is due to want of knowledge, and the covetousness of divines is due to want of piety, and the hypocrisy of dervishes is due to want of trust in God.

44. ABU SA'ID AHMAD B. 'ISA AL-KHARRAZ

He was the first who explained the doctrine of annihilation (*fana*) and subsistence (*baqa*). He is the author of brilliant compositions and sublime sayings and allegories. He had met Dhu 'l-Nun of Egypt, and associated with Bishr and Sari. It is related that concerning the words of the Apostle, "Hearts are naturally disposed to love him who acts kindly towards them," he said: "Oh! I wonder at him who sees none acting kindly towards him except God, how he does not incline to God with his whole being," inasmuch as true beneficence belongs to the Lord of phenomenal objects and is conferred only upon those who have need of it; how can he who needs beneficence from others bestow it upon anyone? God is the King and Lord of all and hath need of none. Recognizing this, the friends of God behold in every gift and benefit the Giver and Benefactor. Their hearts are wholly taken captive by love of Him and turned away from everything else.

45. ABU 'L-HASAN 'ALI B. MUHAMMAD AL-ISFAHANI

According to other, his name is 'Ali b. Sahl. He was a great Shaykh. Junayds and he wrote exquisite letters to one another, and 'Amr b. 'Uthman Makki went to Isfahan to visit him. He consorted with Abu Turab and Junayd. He followed a praiseworthy Path in Sufi'ism and one that was peculiarly his own. He was adorned with acquiescence in God's will and self-discipline, and was preserved from mischiefs and contaminations. He spoke eloquently on the theory and practice of mysticism, and lucidly explained its difficulties and symbolical allusions. It is related that he said: "Presence (*hudur*) is better than certainty (*yaqin*), because presence is an abiding state (*watanat*), whereas

certainty is a transient one (*khatarat*)," i.e., presence makes its abode in the heart and does not admit forgetfulness, while certainty is a feeling that comes and goes: hence those who are "present" (*hadiran*) are in the sanctuary, and those who have certainty (*muqinan*) are only at the gate. The subject of "absence" and "presence" will be discussed in a separate chapter of this book.

And he said also: "From the time of Adam to the Resurrection people cry, 'The heart, the heart!' and I wish that I mught find some one to describe what the heart is or how it is, but I find none. People is general give the name of 'heart' (*dil*) to that piece of flesh which belongs to madmen and ecstatics and children, who really are without heart (*bedil*). What, then, is this heart, of which I hear only the name?" That is to say, if I call intellect the heart, it is not the heart; and if I call spirit the heart, it is not the heart; and if I call knowledge the heart, it is not the heart. All the evidences of the Truth subsist in the heart, yet only the name of it is to be found.

46. ABU 'L-HASAN MUHAMMAD B. ISMA'IL KHAYR AL-NASSAJ

He was a great Shaykh, and in his time discoursed with eloquence on ethics and preached excellent sermons. He died at an advanced age. Both Shibli and Ibrahim Khawwas were converted in his place of meeting. He sent Shibli to Junayd, wishing to observe the respect due to the latter. He was a pupil of Sari, and was contemporary with Junayd and Abu 'l-Hasan Nuri. Junayd held him in high regard, and Abu Hamza of Baghdad treated him with the utmost consideration. It is related that he was called Khayr al-Nassaj from the following circumstance. He left Samarra,

his native town, with the intention of performing the Pilgrimage. At the gate of Kufa, which lay on his route, he was seized by a weaver of silk, who cried out: "You are my slave, and your name is Khayr." Deeming this to come from God, he did not contradict the weaver, and remained many years in his employment. Whenever his master said "Khayr!" he answered, "At thy service (labbayk), until the man repented of what he had done and said to Khayr: "I made a mistake; you are not my slave." So he departed and went to Makkah, where he attained to such a degree that Junayd said: "Khayr is the best of us" (*Khayr khayruna*). He used to prefer to be called Khayr, saying: "It is not right that I should alter a name which has been bestowed on me by a Muslim". They relate that when the hour of his death approached, it was time for the evening prayer. He opened his eyes and looked at the Angel of Death and said: "Stop! God save thee! Thou art only a servant who has received His orders, and I am the same. that which thou art commanded to do (viz. to take my life) will not escape thee, but that which I am commanded to do (viz. to perform the evening prayer) will escape me: therefore let me do as I am bidden, and then do as thou art bidden." He then called for water and cleansed himself, and performed the evening prayer and gave up his life. On the same night he was seen in a dream and was asked: "What has God done to thee?" He answered: "Do not ask me of this, but I have gained release from your world."

It is related that he said in his place of meeting: "God hath expanded the breasts of the pious with the light of certainty, and hath opened the eyes of the possessors of certainty with the light of the verities of faith." Certainty is indispensable to the pious, whose hearts are expanded with the light of certainty, and those who have certainty cannot do without the verities of faith, inasmuch as their intellectual vision consists in the light of faith. Accordingly, where faith is certainty is there, and where

certainty is piety is there, for they go hand in hand with each other.

47. ABU HAMZA AL-KHURASANI

He is one of the ancient Shaykhs of Khurasan. He associated with Abu Turab, and had seen Kharraz.[37] He was firmly grounded in trust in God (*tawakkul*). It is a well-known story that one day he fell into a pit. After three days had passed a party of travellers approached. Abu Hamza said to himself: "I will call out to them." Then he said: "No; it is not good that I seek aid from anyone except God, and I shall be complaining of God if I tell them that my God has cast me into a pit and implore them to rescue me." When they came up and saw an open pit in the middle of the road, they said: "For the sake of obtaining Divine recompense (*thawab*) we must cover this pit lest anyone should fall into it." Abu Hamza said: "I became deeply agitated and abandoned hope of life. After they blocked the mouth of the pit and departed, I prayed to God and resigned myself to die, and hoped no more of mankind. When night fell I heard a movement at the top of the pit. I looked attentively. The mouth of the pit was open, and I saw a huge animal like a dragon, which let down its tail. I knew that God had sent it and that I should be saved in this way. I took hold of its tail and it dragged me out. A heavenly voice cried to me, 'This is an excellent escape of thine, O Abu Hamza! We have saved thee from death by means of a death" (i.e. a deadly monster).

He was asked, "Who is the stranger (*gharib*)?" He replied, "He who shuns society," because the dervish has no home or society either in this world or the next, and when he is dissociated from phenomenal existence he shuns everything, and then he is a stranger; and this is a very lofty degree.

48. ABU L-'ABBAS AHMAD B. MASRUQ

He was one of the great men of Khurasan, and the Saints of God are unanimously agreed that he was one of the Awta'd. He associated with the Qutb, who is the pivot of the universe. On being asked to say who the Qutb was, he did not declare his name but hinted that Junayd was that personage. He had done service to the Forty who possess the rank of fixity (*sahib tamkin*) and received instruction from them. It is related that he said: "If anyone takes joy in aught except God, his joy produces sorrow, and if anyone is not intimate with the service of his Lord, his intimacy produces loneliness (*wahshat*)," i.e. all save Him is perishable, and whoever rejoices in what is perishable, when that perishes becomes stricken with sorrow; and except His service all else in vain, and when the vileness of created objects is made manifest, his intimacy (with them) is wholly turned to loneliness: hence, the sorrow and loneliness of the entire universe consist in regarding that which is other (than God).

49. ABU ABDULLAH MUHAMMAD[38] B. ISMA'IL AL-MAGHRIBI

In his time he was an approved teacher and a careful guardian of his disciples. Both Ibrahim Khawwas and Ibrahim Shaybani were pupils of He has lofty sayings and shining evidences, and he was prefectly grounded in detachment from this world. It is related that he said: "I never saw anyone more just than the world: if you serve her she will serve you, and if you leave her she will leave you," i.e. as long as you seek her she will seek you, but when you turn away from her and seek God she will flee from you, and worldly thoughts will no more cling to your heart.

50. ABU 'ALI AL-HASAN B. 'ALI AL-JUZAJANI

He wrote brilliant works on the science of ethics and the detection of spiritiual cankers. He was a pupil of Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Tirmidhi, and a contemporary of Abu Bakr Warraq. Ibrahim Samarqandi was a pupil of his. It is related that he said: "All mankind are galloping on the race-courses of heedlessness, relying upon idle fancies, while they suppose themselves to be versed in the Truth and to be speaking from Divine revelation." This saying alludes to natural self-conceit and to the pride of the soul. Men, though they are ignorant, have a firm belief in their ignorance, especially ignorant Sufis, who are the vilest creatures of God, just as wise Sufis are the noblest. The latter possess the Truth and are without conceit, whereas the former possess conceit and are without the Truth. They graze in the fields of heedlessness and imagine that it is the field of saintship. They rely on fancy and suppose it to be certainty. They go about with form and think it is reality. They speak from their own lust and think it is a Divine revelaton. This they do because conceit is not expelled from a man's head save by vision of the majesty or the beauty of God: for in the manifestation of His beauty they see Him alone, and their conceit is annihilated, while in the revelation of His majesty they do not see themselves, and their conceit does not intrude.

51. ABU MUHAMMAD AHMAD B. AL-HUSAYN AL-JURAYRI

He was an intimate friend of Junayd, and also associated with Sahl b. 'Abdullah. He was learned in every branch of science and was the Imam of his day in jurisprudence, besides being well acquainted with theology.

His rank in Sufi'ism was such that Junayd said to him: "Teach my pupils discipline and train them!" He succeeded Junayd and sat in his chair. It is related that he said: "The permanence of faith and the subsistence of religions and the health of bodies depend on three qualities: satisfaction (*iktifa*) and piety (*ittiqa*) and abstinence (*ihtima*) : if one is satisfied with God, his conscience becomes good; and if one guards himself from what God has forbidden, his character becomes upright; and if one abstains from what does not agree with him, his constitution is brought into good order. The fruit of satisfaction is pure knowledge of God, and the result of piety is excellence of moral character, and the end of abstinence is equilibrium of constitution." The Apostle said, "He that prays much by night, his face is fair by day," and he also said that the pious shall come at the Resurrection "with resplendent faces on thrones of light."

52. ABU 'L-'ABBAS AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. SAHL AL-AMULI

He was always held in great respect by his contemporaries. He was versed in the sciences of Quranic exegesis and criticism, and expounded the subtleties of the Quran with an eloquence and insight peculiar to himself. He was an eminent pupil of Junayd, and had associated with Ibrahim Maristani. Abu Sa'id Kharraz regarded him with the utmost veneration, and used to declare that no one deserved the name of Sufi except him. It is related that said: "Acquiescence in natural habits prevents a man from attaining to the exalted degrees of spirituality," because natural dispositions are the instruments and organs of the sensual part (*nafs*), which is the centre of "veiling" (*hijab*), whereas the spiritual part (*haqiqat*) is the centre of revelation. Natural dispositions become attached to two

things: firstly, to this world and its accessories, and secondly, to the next world and its circumstances: to the former in virtue of homogeneousness, and to the latter through imagination and in virtue of heterogeneousness and non-cognition. Therefore they are attached to the notion of the next world not to its idea, for if they knew it in reality, they would break off conexion with this world, and nature would then have lost all her power and spiritual things would be revealed. There can be no harmony between the next world and human nature until the latter is annihilated, because "in the next world is that which the heart of man never conceived". The worth (*khatar*) of the next world lies in the fact that the way to it is full of danger (*khatar*). A thing that only comes into one's thoughts (*khawatir*) has little worth; and inasmuch as the imagination is incapable of knowing the reality of the next world, how can human nature become familiar with the true idea ('ayn) thereof? It is certain that our natural faculties can be acquainted only with the notion (*pindasht*) of the next world.

53. ABU 'L-MUGHITH AL-HUSAYN B. MANSUR AL-HALLAJ

He was an enamoured and intoxicated votary of Sufi'ism. He had a strong ecstasy and a lofty spirit. The Sufi Shaykhs are at variance concerning him. Some reject him, while others accept him. Among the latter class are 'Amr b. 'Uthman al-Makki, Abu Ya'qub Nahrajuri, Abu Ya'qub Aqta', 'Ali b. Sahl Isfahani, and others. He is accepted, moreover, by Ibn 'Ata, Muhammad b. Khafif, Ahu 'l-Qasim Nasrabadi, and all the moderns. Others, again, suspend their judgement about him, e.g. Junayd and Shibli and Jurayri and Husri. Some accuse him of magic and matters coming under that head, but in our days the Grand Shaykh Abu Sa'id b. Abi 'l-Khayr and Shaykh Abu 'l-Qasim Gurgani and Shaykh Abu 'l-'Abbas Shaqani

looked upon him with favour, and in their eyes he was a great man. The Master Abu 'l-Qasim Qushayri remarks that if al-Hallaj was a genuine spiritualist he is not to be banned on the ground of popular condemnation, and if he was banned by Sufi'ism and rejected by the Truth he is not be approved on the ground of popular approval. Therefore we leave him to the Judgement of God, and honour him according to the tokens of the Truth which we have found him to possess. But of all these Shaykhs only a few deny the perfection of his merit and the purity of his spiritual state and the abundance of his ascetic practices. It would be an act of dishonesty to omit his biography from this book. Some persons pronounce his outward behaviour to be that of an infidel, and disbelieve in him and charge him with trickery and magic, and suppose that Husayn b. Mansur Hallaj is that heretic of Baghdad who was the master of Muhammad b. Zakariyya[39] and the companion of Abu Sa'id the Carmathian; but this Husayn whose character is in dispute was a Persian and a native of Bayda, and his rejection by the Shaykhs was due, not to any attack on religion and doctrine, but to his conduct and behaviour. At first he was a pupil of Sahl b. 'Abdullah, whom he left, without asking permission, in order to attach himself to 'Amr b. 'Uthman Makki. Then he left 'Amr b. 'Uthman, again without asking permission, and sought to associate with Junayd, but Junayd would not receive him. This is the reason why he is banned by all the Shaykhs. Now, one who is banned on account of his conduct is not banned on account of his principles. Do you not see that Shibli said: "Al-Hallaj and I are of one belief, but my madness saved me, while his intelligence destroyed him"? Had his religion been suspected, Shibli would not have said: "Al-Hallaj and I are of one belief". And Muhammad b. Khafif said.' "He is divinely learned man" ('alim-e-rabbani). Al-Hallaj is the author of brilliant compositions and allegories and polished sayings in theology and jurisprudence. I have seen fifty

works by him at Baghdad and in the neighbouring districts, and some in Khuzistan and Fars and Khurasan. All his sayings are like the first visions of novices; some of them are stronger, some weaker, some easier, some more unseemly than others. When God bestows a vision on anyone, and he endeavours to describe what he has seen with the power of ecstasy and the help of Divine grace, his words are obscure, especially if he expresses himself with haste and self-admiration: then they are more repugnant to the imaginations, and incomprehensible to the minds, of those who hear them, and then people say, "This is a sublime utterance," either believing it or not, but equally ignorant of its meaning whether they believe or deny. On the other hand, when persons of true spirituality and insight have visions, they make no effort to describe them and do not occupy themselves with self-admiration on that account, and are careless of praise and blame alike, and are undistrubed by denial and belief.

It is absurd to charge al-Hallaj with being a magician. According to the principles of Muhammadan orthodoxy, magic is real, just as miracles are real; but the manifestation of magic in the state of perfection is infidelity, whereas the manifestation of miracles in the state of perfection is knowledge of God *(ma'rifat)*, because the former is the result of God's anger, while the latter is the corollary of His being well pleased. I will explain this more fully in the chapter on the affirmation of miracles. By consent of all Sunnites who are endowed with perspicacity, no Muslim can be a magician and no infidel can be held in honour, for contraries never meet. Husayn, as long as he lived, wore the garb of piety, consisting in prayer and praise of God and continual fasts and fine sayings on the subject of Unification. If his actions were magic, all this could not possibly have proceeded from him. Consequently, they must have been miracles, and miracles are vouchsafed only

to a true saint. Some orthodox theologians reject him on the ground that his sayings are pantheistic (*ba-ma'ni-yi imtizaj u ittihad*), but the offence lies solely in the expression, not in the meaning. A person overcome with rapture has not the power of expressing himself correctly; besides, the meaning of the expression may be difficult to apprehend, so that people mistake the writer's intention, and repudicate, not his real meaning, but a notion which they have formed for themselves. I have seen at Baghdad and in the adjoining districts a number of heretics who pretend to be the followers of al-Hallaj and make his sayings an argument for their heresy (*zandaqa*) and call themselves Hallajis. They spoke of him in the same terms of exaggeration (*ghuluww*) as the *Rafidis* (*Shi'ites*) apply to 'Ali. I will refute their doctrines in the chapter concerning the different Sufi sects. In conclusion, you must know that the sayings of al-Hallaj should not be taken as a model, inasmuch as he was an ecstatic (*maghlub andar hal-i khud*), not firmly settle (*mutamakkin*), and a man needs to be firmly settled before his sayings can be considered authoritative. Therefore, although he is dear to my heart, yet his "path" is not soundly established on any principle, and his state is not fixed in any position, and his experiences are largely mingled with error. When my own visions began I derived much support from him, that is to say, in the way of evidences (*barahin*). At an earlier time I composed a book in explanation of his sayings and demonstrated their sublimity by proofs and arguments. Furthermore, in another work, entitled *Minhaj*, I have spoken of his life from beginning to end; and now I have given some account of him in this place. How can a doctrine whose principles require to be corroborated with so much caution be followed and imitated? Truth and idle fancy never agree. He is continually seeking to fasten upon some erroneous theory. It is related that he said: *Al-alsinat mustantiqat tahta nutqiha mustahlikat*,[40] i.e. "speaking

tongues are the destruction of silent hearts". Such expressions are entirely mischievous. Expression of the meaning of reality is futile. If the meaning exists it is not lost by expression, and if it is non-existent it is not created by expression. Expression only produces an unreal notion and leads the student mortally astray by causing him to imagine that the expression is the real meaning.

54. ABU ISHAQ IBRAHIM B. AHMAD AL-KHAWWAS

He attained a high degree in the doctrine of trust in God (*tawakkul*). He met many Shaykhs, and many signs and miracles were vouchsafed to him. He is the author of excellent works on the ethics of Sufi'ism. It is related that he said: "All knowledge is comprised in two sentences: 'do not trouble yourself with anything that is done for you, and do not neglect anything that you are bound to do for yourslef," i.e., do not trouble yourself with destiny, for what is destined from eternity will not be changed by your efforts, and do not neglect His commandment, for you will be punished if you neglect it. He was asked what wonders he had seen. "Many wonders," he replied, "but the most wonderful was that the Apostle Khidr begged me to let him associate with me, and I refused. Not that I desired any better companion, but I feared that I should depend on him rather than on God, and that my trust in God would be impaired by consorting with him, and that in consequence of performing a work of supererogation. I should fail to peform a duty incumbent on me." This is the degree of perfection.

55. ABU HAMZA AL-BAGHDADI AL-BAZZAZ

He was one of the principal Sufi scholastic theologians (*mutakalliman*). He was a pupil of Harith Muhasibi, and

associated with Sari and was contemporary with Nuri and Khayr Nassaj. He used to preach in the Rusafa mosque at Baghdad. He was versed in Quranic exegesis and criticism, and related Apostolic Traditions on trustworthy authority. It was he who was with Nuri when the latter was persecuted and when God delivered the Sufis from death. I will tell this story in the place where Nuri's doctrine is explained. It is recorded that Abu Hamza said: "If thy 'self' (*nafs*) is safe from thee, thou hast done all that is due to it; and if mankind are safe from thee, thou hast paid all that is due to them," i.e., there are two obligations one which thou owest to thy 'self' and one which thou owest to others. If thou refrain thy 'self' from sin and seek for it the path of future salvation, thou hast fulfilled thy obligation towards it; and if thou make others secure from thy wickedness and do not wish to injure them, thou hast fulfilled thy obligation towards them. Endeavour that no evil may befall thy 'self' or others from thee: then occupy thyself with fulfiling the obligation to God.

56. ABU BAKR MUHAMMAD B. MUSA AL-WASITI

He was a profound theosophist, praiseworthy in the eyes of all the Shaykhs. He was one of the early disciples of Junayd. His abstruse manner of expression caused his sayings to be regarded with suspicion by formalists (*zahiriyan*). He found peace in no city until he came to Merv. The inhabitants of Merv welcomed him on account of his amiable disposition -- for he was a virtuous man -- and listened to his sayings; and he passed his life there. It is related that he said: "Those who remember their praise of God (*dhikr*) are more heedless than those who forget their praise," because if anyone forgets the praise, it is no matter; but it does matter if he remembers the praise and forgets God. Praise is not the same thing as the object of praise. Neglect of the object of praise combined with thought of

the praise approximates to heedlessness more closely than neglect of the praise without thought. He who forgets, in his forgetfulness and absence, does not think that he is present (with God), but he who remembers, in his remembrance and absence from the object of praise, thinks that he is present (with God). Accordingly, to think that one is present when one is not present comes nearer to heedlessness than to be absent without thinking that one is present, for conceit (*pindasht*) is the ruin of those who seek the Truth. The more conceit, the less reality, and *vice versa*. Conceit really springs from the suspiciousness (*tuhmat*) of the intellect, which is produced by the insatiable desire (*nahmat*) of the lower soul; and holy aspiration (*himmat*) has nothing in common with either of these qualities. The fundamental principle of remembrance of God (*dhikr*) is either in absence (*ghaybat*) or in presence (*hudur*). When anyone is absent from himself and present with God, that state is not presence, but contemplation (*mushahadah*); and when anyone is absent from God and present with himself, that state is not remembrance of God (*dhikr*), but absence; and absence is the result of heedlessness (*ghaflat*). The truth is best known to God.

57. ABU BAKR B. DULAF B. JAHDAR AL-SHIBLI

He was a great and celebrated Shaykh. He had a blameless spiritual life and enjoyed perfect communion with God. He was subtle in the use of symbolism, wherefore one of the moderns says: "The wonders of the world are three: the symbolical utterance (*isharat*) of Shibli, and the mystical sayings (*nukat*) of Murta'ish, and the anecdotes (hikayat) of Ja'far".[41] At first he was chief chamberlain to the Caliph, but he was converted in the assembly-room (*majlis*) of Khayr al-Nassaj and became a disciple of Junayd. He made the acquaintance of a large number of Shaykhs. It is related that he explained the verse

"Tell the believers to refrain their eyes" (Qur.xxiv,30) as follows: "O Muhammad, tell the believers to refrain their bodily eyes from what is unlawful, and to refrain their spiritual eyes from everything except God," i.e. not to look at lust and to have no thought except the vision of God. It is a mark of heedlessness to follow one's lusts and to regard unlawful things, and the greatest calamity that befalls the heedless is that they are ignorant of their own faults; for anyone who is ignorant here shall also be ignorant hereafter: "Those who are blind in this world shall be blind in the next world" (Qur.xvii,74). In truth, until God clears the desire of lust out of a man's heart the bodily eye is not safe from its hidden dangers, and until God establishes the desire of Himself in a man's heart the spiritual eye is not safe from looking at other than Him.

It is related that one day when Shibli came into the bazaar, the people said, "This is a madman." He replied: "You think I am mad, and I think you are sensible: may God increase my madness and your sense! i.e., inasmuch as my madness is the result of intense love of God, while your sense is the result of great heedlessness, may God increase my madness in order that I may become nearer and nearer to Him, and may He increase your sense in order that you may become farther and farther from Him. This he said from jealousy (*ghayrat*) that anyone should be so beside one's self as not to separate love of God from madness and not to distinguish between them in this world or the next.

58. ABU MUHAMMAD JA'FAR B. NUSAYR AL-KHULDI

He is the well-known biographer of the Saints. One of the most eminent and oldest of Junayd's pupils, he was profoundly versed in the various branches of Sufi'ism and paid the utmost respect to the Shaykhs. He has many

sublime sayings. In order to avoid spiritual conceit, he attributed to different persons the anecdotes which he composed in illustration of each topic. It is related that he said: "Trust in God is equanimity whether you find anything or not," i.e., you are not made glad by having daily bread or sorrowful by not having it, because it is the property of the Lord, who has a better right than you either to preserve or to destroy: do not interfere, but let the Lord dispose of at His own. Ja'far relates that he went to Junayd and found him suffering from a fever. "O Master," he cried, "tell God in order that He may restore thee to health." Junayd said: "Last night I was about to tell Him, but a voice whispered in my heart, 'Thy body belongs to Me: I keep it well or ill, as I please. Who art thou, that thou shouldst interfere with My property."

59. ABU 'ALI MUHAMMAD B. AL-QASIM AL-RUDBARI

He was a great Sufi and of royal descent. Many signs and virtues were vouchsafed to him. He discoursed lucidly on the arcana of Sufi'ism. It is related that he said: "He who desires (*murid*) desires for himself only what God desires for him, and he who is desired (*murad*) does not desire anything in this world or the next except God." Accordingly, he who is satisfied with the will of God must abandon his own will in order that he may desire, whereas the lover has no will of his own that he should have any object of desire. He who desires God desires only what God desires, and he whom God desires desires only God. Hence satisfaction (*rida*) is one of the "stations" (*maqamat*) of the beginning, and love (*mahabbat*) is one of the "states" (*ahwal*) of the end. The "stations" are connected with the realization of servantship (*'ubudiyyat*), while ecstasy (*mashrab*) leads to the corroboration of Lordship (*rububiyyat*). This being so, the desirer (*murid*) subsists in

himself, and the desired (*murad*) subsists in God.

60. ABU 'L-'ABBAS QASIM B. AL-MAHDI[42] AL-SAYYARI

He associated with Abu Bakr Wasiti and derived instruction from many Shaykhs. He was the most accomplished (*azraf*) of the Sufis in companionship (*suhbat*) and the most sparing (*azhad*) of them in friendship (*ulfat*). He is the author of lofty sayings and praiseworthy compositions. It is related that he said: "Unification (*al-tawhid*) is this: that nothing should occur to your mind except God." He belonged to a learned and influential family of Merv. Having inherited a large fortune from his father, he gave the whole of it in return for two of the Apostle's hairs. Through the blessing of those hairs God bestowed on him a sincere repentance. He fell into the company of Abu Bakr Wasiti, and attained such a high degree that he became the leader of a Sufi sect. When he was on the point of death, he gave directions that those hairs should be placed in his mouth. His tomb is till to be seen at Merv, and people come thither to seek what they desire; and their prayers are granted.

61. ABU 'ABDULLAH MUHAMMAD B. KHAFIF

He was the Imam of his age in diverse sciences. He was renowned for his mortifications and for his convincing elucidation of mystical truths. His spiritual attainments are clearly shown by his compositions. He was acquainted with Ibn 'Ata and Shibli and Husayn b. Mansur and Jurayri, and associated at Makkah with Abu Ya'qub Nahrajuri. He made excellent journeys in detachment from the world (*tajrid*). He was of royal descent, but God bestowed on him repentance, so that he turned his back on the glories of this world. He is held in high esteem by spiritualists. It is

related that he said: "Unification consists in turning away from nature," because the natures of mankind are all veiled from the bounties and blind to the beneficence of God. Hence no one can turn to God until he has turned away from nature, and the "natural" man (sahib tab) is unable to apprehend the reality of Unification, which is revealed to you only when you see the corruption of your own nature.

62. ABU 'UTHMAN SA'ID B. SALLAM AL-MAGHRIBI

He was an eminent spiritualist of the class who have attained "fixity" (*ahl-i tamkin*), and was profundly versed in various departments of knowledge. He practised austerities, and is the author of many notable sayings and excellent proofs concerning the observation of spiritual blemishes (*ru'yat-i afat*). It is related that he said: "Whenever anyone prefers association with the rich to sitting with the poor God afflicts him with spiritual death." The terms "association" (*suhbat*) and "sitting with" (*mujalasat*) are employed, because a man turns away from the poor only when he has sat with them, not when he has associated with them; for there is no turning away in association. When he leaves off sitting with the poor in order to associate with the rich, his heart becomes dead to supplication (*niyaz*) and his body is caught in the toils of covetousness (*az*). Since the result of turning away from mujalasat is spiritual death, how should there be any turning away from *suhbat*? The two terms are clearly distinguished from each other in this saying.

63. ABU 'L-QASIM IBRAHIM B. MUHAMMAD B. MAHMUD AL-NASRABADI

He was like a king in Nishapur, save that the glroy of kings is in this world, while his was in the next world. Original sayings and exalted signs were vouchsafed to him. Himself a pupil of Shibli, he was the master of the later

Shaykhs of Khurasan. He was the most learned and devout man of his age. It is recorded that he said: "Thou art between two relationships: one to Adam, the other to God. If thou claim relationship to Adam, thou wilt enter the arenas of lust and the places of corruption and error; for by this claim thou seekest to realize thy humanity (*bashariyyat*). God hath said: 'Verily, he was unjust and foolish' (Qur.xxxiii,72). If, however, thou claim relationship to God, thou wilt enter the stations of revelation and evidence and protection (from sin) and saintship; for by this claim thou seekest to realize thy servantship (*'ubudiyyat*). God hath said: 'The servants of the Merciful are those who walk on the earth weekly' (Qur.xxv,64)." Relationship to Adam ends at the Resurrection, whereas the relationship of being a servant of God subsists always and is unalterable. When a man refers himself to himself or to Adam, the utmost that he can reach is to say: "Verily, I have injured myself" (Qur.xxviii,15); but when he refers himself to God, the son of Adam is in the same case as those of whom God hath said: "O My servants, there is no fear for you this day" (Qur.xliii,68).

64. ABU 'L-HASAN 'ALI B. IBRAHIM AL-HUSRI

He is one of the great Imams of the Sufis and was unrivalled in his time. He has lofty sayings and admirable explanations in all spiritual matters. it is related that he said: "Leave me alone in my affliction! Are not ye children of Adam, whom God formed with His own hand and breathed a spirit into him and caused the angels to bow down to him? Then He commanded him to do something, and he disobeyed. If the first of the wine-jar is dregs, what will its last be?" That is to say: "When a man is left to himself he is all disobedience, but when Divine favour comes to his help he is all love. Now regard the beauty of Diving favour and compare with it the ugliness of thy

behaviour, and pass thy whole life in this."

I have mentioned some of the ancient Sufis whose example is authoritative. If I had noticed them all and had set forth their lives in detail and had included the anecdotes respecting them, my purpose would not have been accomplished, and this book would have run to great length. Now I will add some account of the modern Sufis.

1 L. Aslam .
2 Qur. Vii, 160.
3 A well-known divine, who died in 110 A.H. See Ibn Khallikan, No.576. An extant work on the interpretation of dreams is attributed to him (Brockelmann, I. 66).
4 The text has jama-e-hashishi u dibaqi. Apparently the former word should be written "khashishi". It is described in Vuller's Persian Dictionary as "a kind of garment".
5 Bilal b. Rabah, the Propdhet's Muezzin, was buried at Damascus.
6 Here the author relates two anecdotes illustrating the devotion of Muhammad.
7 He died in 211 A.H. See Ibn Khallikan, No.409.
8 Died in 168 A.H. See Ibn Kihallikan, No.266.
9 According to a marginal gloss in I, 'ukkaza is a tripod on which a leathen water-bottle is suspended.
10 See Nafahat, No. 347, where he is called Abu 'l-Husayn Saliba.
11 Its full title is Ri'dyat li-huquq Allah, "The observance of what is due to God."
12 This reading is given in the Tabaqat al-Sufiyya of Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami (British Museum MS., Add. 18,520, f. 13a)
13 The takbir, i.e. the words Allah akbar, "God is most great," is pronounced four times in Muslim funeral prayers.
14 Muhammad b. al-Hasan and Abu Yusuf were celebrated lawyers of the Hanafite school. See Brockelmann, I, 171.
15 See note on p.13.
16 This statement is not accurate. The notice of Ma'ruf Karkhi is the fourth in Qushayri's list of biographies at the beginning of his treatise on Sufi'ism, and stands between the notices of Fudayl b. 'Iyad and Sari Saqati. In the Tabaqat al-Sufiyya, by Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami, the notice of Ma'ruf comes tenth in order, but occupies the same position as it does here in so far as it is preceded by the article on Abu Sulayman Darani and is followed by the article on Hatim al-Asamm. It appears from the next sentence that al-Hujwiri intended to placed the life on Ma'ruf between those of Dawud Tai and Sari Saqati (Nos.14 and 15), but neither of the two above mentioned authorities has adopted this arrangment.
17 LIJ. Have
18 Marwan b. Muawiya al-Fazari of Kufa died in 193 A.H. See Dhahabi's

Tabaqat al-Huffaz, ed. By Wustenold, p.63, No.44. Al-Qari is probably a mistranscription of al-Fazari.\
19 Nafahat, No.44, has "Salama". Qushayri calls him 'Umar b. Maslama.
20 So LIJ. B. has "al-Haddad", which is the form generally used by his biographers.
21 The words madhhab-e-Thawri dasht may refer either to Abu Thawr Ibrahim b. Khalid, a pupil of al-Shafi', who died in 246 A.H., or to Sufyan al-Thawri. See Ibn Khallikan, No.143.
22 B. has "the Hulmanis", i.e.the followers of Abu Hulman of Damascus. See Shahristani, Haarbrucker's translation, ii, 417.
23 The Salimis are described (ibid.) as "a number of scholastic theologians (mutakallimun) belonging to Basra".
24 "Ibahati" or "Ibahi" signifies "one who regards everything as permissible".
25 See the eleventh section of the fourteenth chapter.
26 Dawud of Isfahan, the founder of the Zahirite school (Brockelmann, l, 183).
27 i.e. "The Error of Ecstatic Persons".
28 Abu 'Abdullah Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ghalib b. Khalid al-Basri al-Bahili, generally known as Ghulam Khalil, died in 275 A.H. He is described by Abu 'l-Mahasin (Nujum, ii, 7u9, 1 ff.) as a traditionist, ascetic, and saint. According to the Tadhkirat al-Awliya (ii, 48, 4 ff.) he represented to the Caliph that Junayd, Nuri, Shibli, and other eminent Sufis were freethinkers and heretics, and urged him to put them to death.
29 i.c. "That Mirror of the Sages".
30 Sa'id (Abu 'Ahdullah) b. Yazid al-Nibaji. See Nafahat, No.86.
31 So in all the texts.
32 "The Seal of Saintship."
33 "The Book of the Highway."
34 "Choice Principles."
35 "The Book Unifieation."
36 "The Book of the Torment of the Tomb."
37 See No. 44.
38 LB. Have "Ahmad".
39 The famous physician Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Zakariyya al-Razi, who died about 320 A.H. See Brockelmann, l, 233.
40 Litgerally, "The tongues desire to speak, (but) under their speech they desire to perish."
41 See No.58.
42 Nafahat, No.167, has "Qasim b. al-Qasim al-Mahdi".

CHAPTER XII

CONCERNING THE PRINCIPAL SUFIS OF RECENT TIMES

You must know that in our days there are some persons who cannot endure the burden of discipline (*riyadat*), and seek authority (*riyasat*) without discipline, and think that all Sufis are like themselves; and when they hear the sayings of those who have passed away and see their eminence and read of their devotional practices they examine themselves, and finding that they are far inferior to the Shaykhs of old they no longer attempt to emulate them, but say: "We are not as they, and there is none like them in our time." Their assertion is absurd, for God never leaves the earth without a proof (*hujjat*) or the Muslim community without a saint, as the Apostle said: "One sect of my people shall continue in goodness and truth until the hour of the Resurrection." And he said also: "There shall always be in my people forty who have the nature of Abraham."

Some of those whom I shall mention in this chapter are already deceased, and some are still living.

1. ABU 'L-'ABBAS AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD AL-QASSAB

He associated with the leading Shaykhs of Transoxania. He was famed for his lofty spiritual endowments, his true sagacity, his abundant evidences, ascetic practices, and miracles. Abu 'Abdullah Khayyati, the Imam of Tabaristan, says of him: "It is one of God's bounties that He has made a person who was never taught

able to answer our questions about any difficulty touching the principles of religion and the subtleties of Unification." Although Abu 'l-'Abbas Qassab was illiterate (*ummi*), he discoursed in sublime fashion concerning the science of Sufi'ism and theology. I have heard many stories of him, but my rule in this book is brevity. One day a camel, with a heavy burden, was going through the market place at Amul, which is always muddy. The camel fell and broke its leg. While the lad in charge of it was lamenting and lifting his hands to implore the help of God, and the people were about to take the load off its back, the Shaykh passed by, and asked what was the matter. On being informed, he seized the camel's bridle and turned his face to the sky and said: "O Lord! make the leg of this camel whole. If Thou wilt not do so, why last Thou let my heart be melted by the tears of a lad?" The camel immediately got up and went on its way.

It is stated that he said: "All mankind, whether they will or no, must reconcile themselves to God, or else they will suffer pain," because, when you are reconciled to Him in affliction, you see only the Author of affliction, and the affliction itself does not come; and if you are not reconciled to Him, affliction comes and your heart is filled with anguish. God having predestined our satisfaction and dissatisfaction, does not alter His predestination: therefore our satisfaction with His decrees is a part of our pleasure. Whenever anyone reconciles himself to Him, that man's heart is rejoiced; and whenever anyone turns away from Him, that man is distressed by the coming of destiny.

2. ABU 'ALI HASAN B. MUHAMMAD AL-DAQQAQ

He was the leading authority in his department (of science) and had no rival among his contemporaries. He was lucid in exposition and eloquent in speech as regards

the revelation of the way to God. He had seen many Shaykhs and associated with them. He was a pupil of Nasrabadi[1] and used to be a preacher (*tadhkir kardi*). It is related that he said: "Whoever becomes intimate with anyone except God is weak in his (spiritual) state, and whoever speaks of anyone except God is false in his speech," because intimacy with anyone except God springs from not knowing God sufficiently, and intimacy with Him is friendlessness in regard to others, and the friendless man does not speak of others.

I heard an old man relate that one day he went to the place where al-Daqqaq held his meetings, with the intention of asking him about the state of those who trust in God (*mutawakkilan*). Al-Daqqaq was wearing a fine turban manufactured in Tabaristan, which the old man coveted. He said to al-Daqqaq: "What is trust in God?" The Shaykh replied: "To refrain from coveting people's turbans. With these words he flung his turban in front of the questioner.

3. ABU 'L-HASAN 'ALI B. AHMAD AL-KHURQANI

He was a great Shaykh and was praised by all the Saints in his time. Shaykh Abu Sa'id visited him, and they conversed with each other on every topic. When he was about to take leave he said to al-Khurqani: "I choose you to be my successor." I have heard from Hasan Mu'addib, who was the servant of Abu Sa'id, that when Abu Sa'id came into the presence of al-Khurqani, he did not speak another word, but listened and only spoke by way of answering what was said by the latter. Hasan asked him why he had been so silent. He replied: "One interpreter is enough for one theme." And I heard the Master, Abu 'l-Qasim Qushayri, say: "When I came to Khurqan, my eloquence departed and I no longer had any power to express myself, on account of the veneration with which that spiritual

director inspired me; and I thought that I had been deposed from my own saintship."

It is related that he said: "There are two ways, one wrong and one right. The wrong way is Man's way to God, and the right way is God's way to Man. Whoever says he has attained to God has not attained; but when anyone says that he has been made to attain to God, know that he has really attained." It is not a question of attaining or not attaining, and of salvation or non-salvation, but one of being *caused* to attain or not to attain, and of being *given* salvation or being not given salvation.

4. ABU 'ABDULLAH MUHAMMAD B.'ALI, GENERALLY KNOWN AS AL-DASTANI

He resided at Bistam. He was learned in various branches of science, and is the author of polished discourses and fine symbolical indications. He found an excellent successor in Shaykh Sahlagi, who was the Imam of those parts. I have heard from Sahlagi some of his spiritual utterances (*anfas*), which are very sublime and admirable. He says, for example: "Unification, coming from thee, is existent (*mawjud*), but thou in unification art non-existent (*mafqud*)," i.e. unification, when it proceeds from thee, is faultless (*durust*), but thou art faulty in unification, because thou dost not fulfil its requirements. The lowest degree in unification is the negation of thy personal control over anything that thou hast, and the affirmation of thy absolute submission to God in all thy affairs. Shaykh Sahlagi relates as follows: "Once the locusts came to Bistam in such numbers that every tree and field was black with them. The people cried aloud for help. The Shaykh asked me: 'What is all this pother?' I told him that the locusts had come and that the people were distressed in consequence. He rose and went up to the roof

and looked towards heaven. The locusts immediately began to fly away. By the hour of the afternoon prayer not one was left, and nobody lost even a blade of grass."

5. ABU SA'ID FADLALLAH B. MUHAMMAD AL-MAYHANI

He was the sultan of his age and the ornament of the Mystic Path. All his contemporaries were subject to him, some through their sound perception, and some through their excellent belief, and some through the strong influence of their spiritual feelings. He was versed in the different branches of science. He had a wonderful religious experience and an extraordinary power of reading men's secret thoughts. Besides this he had many remarkable powers and evidences, of which the effects are manifest at the present day. In early life he left Mihna (Mayhana) and came to Sarakhs in order to study. He attached himself to Abu 'Ali Zahir, from whom he learned in one day as much as is contained in three lectures, and he used to spend in devotion the three days that he had saved in this manner.The saint of Sarakhs at that time was Abu 'l-Fadl Hasan. One day, when Abu Sa'id was walking by the river of Sarakhs, Abu 'l-Fadl met him and said: "Your way is not that which you are taking: take your own way." The Shaykh did not attach himself to him, but returned to his native town and engaged in asceticism and austerities until God opened to him the door of guidance and raised him to the highest rank. I heard the following story from Shaykh Abu Muslim Farisi: "I had always," he said, "been on unfriendly terms with the Shaykh. Once I set out to pay him a visit. My patched frock was so dirty that it had become like leather. When I entered his presence, I found him sitting on a couch, dressed in a robe of Egyptian linen. I said to myself: 'This man claims to be a dervish (*faqir*) with all these worldy encumbrances ('ala'iq), while I claim to be

a dervish with all this detachment from the world (*tajrid*). How can I agree with this man?' He read my thoughts, and raising his head cried: 'O Abu Muslim, in what *diwan* have you found that the name of dervish is applied to anyone whose heart subsists in the contemplation of God?' i.e. those who contemplate God are rich in God, whereas dervishes (*fuqara*) are occupied with self-mortification. I repented of my conceit and asked God to pardon me for such an unseemly thought."

And it is related that he said: "Sufi'ism is the subsistence of the heart with God without any mediation." This alludes to contemplation (mushahadah), which is violence of love, and absorption of human attributes in realizing the vision of God, and their annihilation by the everlastingness of God. I will discuss the nature of contemplation in the chapter which treats of the Pilgrimage.

On one occasion Abu Sa'id set out from Nishapur towards Tus. While he was passing through a mountainous ravine his feet felt cold in his boots. A dervish who was then with him says: "I thought of tearing my waist-cloth (*futa*) into two halves and wrapping them round his feet; but I could not bring myself to do it, as my futa was a very fine one. When we arrived at Tus I attended his meeting and asked him to tell me the difference between suggestions of the Devil (*waswas*) and Divine inspiration (*ilham*). He answered: 'It was a Divine inspiration that urged you to tear your futa into two pieces for the sake of warming my feet; and it was a diabolic suggestion that hindered you from doing so." He performed a whole series of miracles of this kind which are wrought by spiritual adepts.

6. ABU 'L-FADL MUHAMMAD B. AL-HASAN AL-KHUTTALI

He is the teacher whom I follow in Sufi'ism. He was versed in the science of Quranic exegesis and in traditions (*riwayat*). In Sufi'ism he held the doctrine of Junayd. He was a pupil of Husri[2] and a companion of Sirawani, and was contemporary with Abu 'Amr Qazwini and Abu 'l-Hasan b. Saliba. He spent sixty years in sincere retirement from the world, for the most part on Mount Lukam. He displayed many signs and proofs (of saintship), but he did not wear the garb or adopt the external fashions of the Sufis, and he used to treat formalists with severity. I never saw any man who inspired me with greater awe than he did. It is related that he said: "The world is but a single day, in which we are fasting," i.e., we get nothing from it, and are not occupied with it, because we have perceived its corruption and its "veils" and have turned our hacks upon it. Once I was pouring water on his hands in order that he might purify himself. The thought occurred to me: "Inasmuch as everything is predestined, why should free men make themselves the slaves of spiritual directors in the hope of having miracles vouchsafed to them?" The Shaykh said: "O my son, I know what you are thinking. Be assured that there is a cause for every decree of Providence. When God wishes to bestow a crown and a kingdom on a guardsman's son ('awan-bacha), He gives him repentance and employs him in the service of one of His friends, in order that this service may be the means of his obtaining the gift of miracles." Many such fine sayings he uttered to me every day. He died at Bayt al-Jinn, a village situated at the head of a mountain pass between Baniyas[3] and the river of Damascus. While he lay on his death bed, his head resting on my bosom (and at that time I was feeling hurt, as men often do, by the behaviour of a friend of mine), he said

to me: "O my son, I will tell thee one article of belief which, if thou holdest it firmly, will deliver thee from all troubles. Whatever good or evil God creates, do not in any place or circumstance quarrel with His action or be aggrieved in thy heart." He gave no further injunction, but yielded up his soul.

7. ABU 'L-QASIM 'ABDUL KARIM B. HAWAZIN AL-QUSHAYRI

In his time he was a wonder. His rank is high and his position is great, and his spiritual life and manifold virtues are well known to the people of the present age. He is the author of many fine sayings and exquisite works, all of them profoundly theosophical, in every branch of science. God rendered his feelings and his tongue secure from anthropomorphism (*hashw*). I have heard that he said: "The Sufi is like the disease called *birsam*, which begins with delirium and ends in silence; for when you have attained 'fixity' you are dumb." Sufi'ism (safwat) has two sides: ecstasy (*wajd*) and visions (*numud*). visions belong to novices, and the expression of such visions is delirium (*hadhayan*). Ecstasy belongs to adepts, and the expression of ecstasy, while the ecstasy continues, is impossible. So long as they are only seekers they utter lofty aspirations, which seem delirium even to those who aspire (*ahl-i himmat*), but when they have attained they cease, and no more express anything either by word or sign. Similarly, since Moses was a beginner (*mubtadi*) all his desire was for vision of God; he expressed his desire and said, "O Lord, show me that I may behold Thee" (Qur.vii,139). This expression of an unattained desire seemed like delirium. Our Apostle, however, was an adept (*muntahi*) and firmly established (*mutamakkin*). When his person arrived at the station of desire his desire was annihilated, and he said, "I cannot praise Thee duly."

8. ABU 'L-'ABBAS AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD AL-ASHQANI

He was an Imam in every branch of the fundamental and derivative sciences, and consummate in all respects. He had met a great number of eminent Sufis. His doctrine was based on "annihilation" (*fana*), and his recondite manner of expression was peculiarly his own; but I have seen some fools who imitated it and adopted his ecstatic phrases (*shathha*). It is not laudable to imitate even a spiritual meaning: mark, then, how wrong it must be to imitate a mere expression! I was very intimate with him, and he had a sincere affection for me. He was my teacher in some sciences. during my whole life I have never seen anyone, of any sect, who held the religious law in greater veneration than he. He was detached from all created things, and only an Imam of profound insight could derive instruction from him, on account of the subtlety of his theological expositions. He always had a natural disgust of this world and the next, and was constantly exclaiming: *Ashtahi 'adaman la wujud lahu*, "I long for a non-existence that has no existence." And he used to say in Persian: "Every man has an impossible desire, and I too have an impossible desire, which I surely know will never be realized namely, that God should bring me to a non-existence that will never return to existence." He wished this because "stations" and miracles are all centres of veiling (i.e. they veil man from God). Man has fallen in love with that which veils him. Non-existence in desire of vision is better than taking delight in veils. Inasmuch as Almighty God is a Being that is not subject to not being, what loss would His kingdom suffer if I become a nonentity that shall never be endowed with existence? This is a sound principle in a real annihilation.

9. ABU 'L-QASIM B. 'ALI B. ABDULLAH AL-GURGANI
(may God prolong his life for the benefit of us and of all Muslims!)

In his time he was unique and incomparable. His beginning (*ibtida*) was very excellent and strong, and his journeys were performed with punctilious observance (of the sacred law). At that time the hearts of all initiates (*ahl-i dargah*) were turned towards him, and all seekers (taliban) had a firm belief in him. He possessed a marvellous power of revealing the inward experiences of novices (kashf-i waq'a-i muridan), and he was learned in various branches of knowledge. All his disciples are ornaments of the society in which they move. Please God, he will have an excellent successor, whose authority the whole body of Sufis will recognize, namely, Abu 'Ali al-Fadl b. Muhammad al-Farmadhi (May God lengthen his days!),[4] who had not omitted to fulfil his duty towards his master, and has turned his back on all (wordly) things, and through the blessings of that (renunciation) has been made by God the spiritual mouthpiece (*zaban-i hal*) of that venerable Shaykh.

One day I was seated in the Shaykh's presence and was recounting to him my experiences and visions, in order that he might test them, for he had unrivalled skill in this. He was listening kindly to what I said. The vanity and enthusiasm of youth made me eager to relate those matters, and the thought occurred to me that perhaps the Shaykh, in his novitiate, did not enjoy such experiences, or he would not show so much humility towards me and be so anxious to inquire concerning my spiritual state. The Shaykh perceived what I was thinking. "My dear friend," he said, "you must know that my humility is not on account of you or your experiences, but is shown towards him who brings

experiences to pass. They are not peculiar to yourself, but common to all seekers of God." On hearing him say this I was utterly taken aback. He saw my confusion and said: "O my son, Man has no further relation to this Path except that, when he is attached to it, he imagines that he has found it, and when he is deposed from it he clothes his imagination in words. Hence both his negation and his affirmation, both his non-existence and existence, are imagination. Man never escapes from the prison of imagination. it behoves him to stand like a slave at the door and put away from himself every relation (*nisbat*) except that of manhood and obedience." Afterwards I had much spiritual conversation with him, but if I were to enter upon the task of setting forth his extraordinary powers my purpose would be defeated.

10. ABU AHMAD AL-MUZAFFAR B. AHMAD B. HAMDAN

While he was seated on the cushion of authority (*riyasat*), God opened to him the door of this mystery (Sufi'ism) and bestowed on him the crown of miracles. He spoke eloquently and discoursed with sublimity on a annihilation and subsistence (*fana u baqa*). The Grand Shaykh, Abu Sa'id, said: "I was led to the court (of God) by the way of servantship (*bandagi*), but Khwaja Muzaffar was conducted thither by the way of lordship and dominion (*khwajagi*)," i.e. "I attained contemplation (*mushahadah*) by means of self-mortification (*mujahadah*), whereas he came from contemplation to self-mortification." I have heard that he said: "That which great mystics have gained in the set of power and pre-eminence (*balish u sadr*)." Some foolish and conceited persons have attributed this saying of his to arrogance, but it is never arrogant to declare one's true state, especially when the speaker is a spiritualist. At the present time Muzaffar has an excellent

and honoured successor in Khwaja Ahmad. One day, when I was in his company, a certain pretender of Nishapur happened to use the expression: "He becomes annihilated and then becomes subsistent." Khwaja Muzaffar said: "How can subsistence (baqa) be predicated of annihilation (*fana*)? Annihilation mean 'not-being', while subsistence refers to 'being': each term negates the other. We know that annihilation is, but when it is not, if it becomes 'being', its identity (*'ayn*) is lost. Essences are not capable of annihilation. Attributes, however, can be annihilated, and so can secondary causes. Therefore, when attributes and secondary causes are annihilated, the Object invested with attributes and the Author of secondary causes continues to subsist: His essence does not admit of annihilation." I do not recollect the precise words in which Muzaffar expressed his meaning, but this was the purport of them. Now I will explain more clearly what he intended, in order that it may be more generally understood. A man's will (*ikhtiyar*) is an attribute of himself, and he is veiled by his will from the will of God. Therefore a man's attributes veil him from God. Necessarily, the Divine will is eternal and the human will phenomenal, and what is eternal cannot be annihilated. When the Divine will in regard to a man becomes subsistent (*baqa yabad*), his will is annihilated and his personal initiative disappears. But God knows best.

One day I came into his presence, when the weather was exteremely hot, wearing a traveller's dress and with my hair in disorder. He said to me: "Tell me what you wish at this moment." I replied that I wished to hear some music (*sama*). He immediately sent for a singer (*qawwal*) and a number of musicians. Being young and enthusiastic and filled with the ardour of a novice, I became deeply agitated as the strains of the music fell on my ear. After a while, when my transports subsided, he asked me how I liked it. I told him that I had enjoyed it very much. He answered: "A

time will come when this music will be no more to you than the croaking of a raven. The influence of music only lasts so long as there is no contemplation, and as soon as contemplation is attained music has no power. Take care not to accustom yourself to this, lest it grow part of your nature and keep you back from higher things."

1 See Chapter XI, No.63.
2 See Cahpter XI, No.64.
3 L. Baniyan, IJ. Maniyan.
4 Nafahat, No.428.

CHAPTER XIII

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE MODERN SUFIS IN DIFFERNET COUNTRIES

I have not space enough to give biographies of them all, and if I omit some the object of this book will not be accomplished. Now, therefore, I will mention only the names of individual Sufis and leading spiritualists who have lived in my time or are still alive, excluding the formalists (*ahl-i rusum*).

1. SYRIA AND 'IRAQ

Shaykh Zaki b. al-'Ala was an eminent Shaykh. I found him to be like a flash of love. He was endowed with wonderful signs and evidences.

Shaykh Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. al-Misbah al-Saydalani was one of the principal aspirants to Sufi'ism. he discoursed eloquently on theosophy and had a great fondness for Husayn b. Mansur (al-Hallaj), some of whose works I have read to him. Shaykh Abu 'l-Qasim Suddi[1] was a director who mortified himself and led an excellent spiritual life. He cared tenderly for dervishes and had a goodly belief in them.

2. FARS

The Grand Shaykh, Abu 'l-Hasan b. Saliba,[2] spoke with the utmost elegance on Sufi'ism and with extreme lucidity on Unification (*tawhid*). His sayings are well know.

The Shaykh and Director (*murshid*) Abu Ishaq b. Shahriyar was one of the most venerable Sufis and had complete authority. Shaykh Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Bakran was a great mutasawwif, and Shaykh Abu Muslim was highly esteemed in his time.

Shaykh Abu 'l-Fath b. Saliba is an excellent and hopeful successor to his father. Shaykh Abu Talib was a man enraptured by the words of the Truth.

I have seen all these except the Grand Shaykh, Abu Ishaq.

3. QUHISTAN, ADHARBAYAJAN, TABARISTAN, AND KISH [3]

Shaykh Faraj,[4] known as Akhi Zanjani, was a man of excellent disposition and admirable doctrine.

Shaykh Badr ul-Din is one of the great men of this sect, and his good deeds are many.

Padshah-i Taib was profoundly versed in mysticism.

Shaykh Abu 'Abdullah Junaydi was a revered director.

Shaykh Abu Tahir Makshuf was one of the eminent of that time.

Khwaja Husayn Simnan is an enraptured and hopeful man.

Shaykh Sahlagi was one of the principal Sufi paupers (sa'alik).

Ahmad, son of Shaykh Khurqani, was an excellent successor to his father.

Adib Kumandi was one of the chief men of the time.

4. KIRMAN

Khwaja 'Ali b. al-Husayn al-Sirgani was the wandering

devotee (*sayyah*) of his age and made excellent journeys. His son, Hakim, is held in honour.

Shaykh Muhammad b. Salama was among the eminent of the time. Before him there have been hidden saints of God, and hopeful youths and striplings are still to be found.

5. KHURASAN (Where now is shadow of God's favour)

The Shaykh and Mujtahid Abu 'l-'Abbas was the heart of spiritualism (*sirr-i ma'ani*) and had a goodly life.

Khwaja Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Hawari is one of the eminent theosophists of this sect.

Khawaja Abu Ja'far Turshizi was highly esteemed.

Khwaja Mahmud of Nishapur was regarded as an authority by his contemporaries. He was eloquent in discourse.

Shaykh Muhammad Ma'shuq had an excellent spiritual state and was aglow with love.

Khwaja Rashid Muzaffar, the son of Abu Sa'id, will, it may be hoped, become an example to all Sufis and a point to which their hearts will turn.

Khwaja Shaykh Ahmad Hammadi of Sarakhs was the champion of the time. He was in my company for a while, and I witnessed many wondrous experiences that he had.

Shaykh Ahmad Najjar Samarqandi, who resided at Merv, was the sultan of his age.

Shaykh Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Abi 'Ali al-Aswad was an excellent successor to his father, and was unique in the sublimity of his aspiration and the sagacity of his intelligence.

It would be difficult to mention all the Shaykhs of Khurasan. I have met three hundred in that province alone who had such mystical endowments that a single man of them would have been enough for the whole world. This is due to the fact that the sun of love and the fortune of the

Sufi Path is in the ascendant in khurasan.

6. TRANSOXANIA

The Khwaja and Imam, honoured by high and low, Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. al-Husayn[5] al-Harami, is an ecstatic (*mustami*) and enraptured man, who has a great affection towards the seekers of God.

Khwaja Abu Muhammad Banghari[6] had an excellent spiritual life, and there was no weakness in his devotional practices.

Ahmad Ilaqi was the Shaykh of his time. He renounced forms and habits.

Khwaja 'Arif was unparalleled in his day.

'Ali b. Ishaq was venerated and had an eloquent tongue.

I have seen all these Shaykhs and ascertained the "station" of each of them. They were all profound theosophists.

7. GHAZNA

Abu 'l-Fadl b. al-Asadi was a venerable director, with brilliant evidences and manifest miracles. He was like a flash of the fire of love. His spiritual life was based on concealment (*talbis*).

Isma'il al-Shashi was a highly esteemed director. He followed the path of "blame" (malamat).

Shaykh Salari-i Tabari was one of the Sufi divines and had an excellent state.

Shaykh Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad b. al-Hakim, known as *Murid*, was a God-intoxicated man, and was not rivalled by any contemporary in his own line. His state was hidden from the vulgar, but his signs and evidences were conspicuous, and his state was better in companionship (*suhbat*) than in casual meeting (*didar*).

Shaykh Sa'id b. Abi Sa'id al-'Ayyar was a recorder (*hafiz*) of Apostolic Traditions. He had seen many Shaykhs and was a man of powerful spirituality and great knowledge, but he took the way of concealment and did not exhibit his true character.

Khwaja Abu 'l-'Ala 'Abd al-Rahim b. Ahmad al-Sughdi is honoured by all Sufis, and my heart is well-disposed towards him. His spiritual state is excellent, and he is acquainted with various branches of science.

Shaykh Awhad Qaswarat b. Muhammad al-Jardizi has a boundless affection for Sufis and holds every one of them in reverence. He has seen many Shaykhs.

In consequence of the firm convictions of the people and divines of Ghazna, I have good hope that hereafter persons will appear in whom we shall believe, and that those wretches (*paragandagan*) who have found their way into this city and have made the externals of Sufi'ism abominable will be cleared out, so that Ghazna will once more become the abode of saints and venerable men.

1 IJ. Sudsi, B. Sundusi.
2 See Nafahat, No.347, where he is called Abu 'l-Hnsayn Saliba.
3 B. Kumish.
4 The texts have or but see Nafahat, No.171.
5 IJ. Al-Hasan.
6 This nisba is variously written "Banghari" and "Bayghazi".

CHAPTER XIV

CONCERNING THE DOCTRINES HELD BY THE DIFFERENT SECTS OF SUFIS

I have already stated, in the notice of Abu 'l-Hasan Nuri, that the Sufis are divided into twelve sects, of which two are reprobated and ten are approved. Every one of these ten sects has an excellent system and doctrine as regards both purgation (*mujahadah*) and contemplation (*mushahadah*). Although they differ from each other in their devotional practices and ascetic disciplines, they agree in the fundamentals and derivatives of the religious law and Unification. Abu Yazid said: "The disagreement of divines is a mercy except as regards the detachment (*tajrid*)[1] of Unification"; and there is a famous tradition to the same effect. The real essence of Sufi'ism lies amidst the traditions (*akhbar*) of the Shaykhs, and is divided only metaphorically and formally. Therefore I will briefly divide their sayings in explanation of Sufi'ism and unfold the main principle on which the doctrine of each one of them is based, in order that the student may readily understand this matter.

1. THE MUHASIBIS

They are the followers of Abu 'Abdullah Harith b. Asad al-Muhasibi, who by consent of all his contemporaries was a man of approved spiritual influence and mortified passions (*maqbul al-nafas u maqtul al-nafs*), versed in theology, jurisprudence, and mysticism. He discoursed on detachment from the world and Unification, while his outward and inward dealings (with God) were beyond reproach. The peculiarity of his doctrine is this, that

he does not reckon satisfaction (*rida*) among the "stations" (*maqamat*), but includes it in the "states" (*ahwal*). He was the first to hold this view, which was adopted by the people of Khurasan. The people of 'Iraq, on the contrary, asserted that satisfaction is one of the "stations", and that it is the extreme of trust in God (*tawakkul*). The controversy between them has gone on to the present day.[2]

DISCOURSE ON THE TRUE NATURE OF SATISFACTION AND THE EXPLANATION OF THIS DOCTRINE

In the first place I will establish the true nature of satisfaction and set forth its various kinds; then, secondly, I will explain the real meaning of "station" (*maqam*) and "state" (*hal*) and the difference between them.

Satisfaction is of two kinds: (a) the satisfaction of God with Man, and (b) the satisfaction of Man with God. Divine satisfaction really consists in God's willing that Man should be recompensed (for his good works) and in His bestowing grace (*karamat*) upon him. Human satisfaction really consists in Man's performing the command of God and submitting to His decree. Accordingly, the satisfaction of God precedes that of Man, for until Man is divinely aided he does not submit to God's decree and does not perform His command, because Man's satisfaction is connected with God's satisfaction and subsists thereby. In short, human satisfaction is equanimity (*istiwa-yi dil*) towards Fate, whether it withholds or bestows, and spiritual steadfastness (*istiqamat*) in regarding events, whether they be the manifestation of Divine Beauty (*jamal*) or of Divine Majesty (jalal), so that it is all one to a man whether he is consumed in the fire of wrath or illuminated by the light of mercy, because both wrath and mercy are evidences of God, and whatever proceeds from God is good is His eyes.

The Commander of the Faithful, Husayn b. 'Ali was asked about the saying of Abu Dharr Ghifari: "I love poverty better than riches, and sickness better than health.Husayn replied: "God have mercy on Abu Dharr! but I say that whoever surveys the excellent choice made by God for him does not desire anything except what God has chosen for him." When a man sees God's choice and abandons his own choice, he is delivered from all sorrow. This, however, does not hold good in absence from God (*ghaybat*); it requires presence with God (*hudur*), because "satisfaction expels sorrows and cures heedlessness" and purges the heart of thoughts relating to other than God and frees it from the bonds of tribulation; for it is characteristic of satisfaction to deliver (*rahanidan*).

From the standpoint of ethics, satisfaction is the acquiescence of one who knows that giving and withholding are in God's knowledge, and firmly believes the God sees him in all circumstances. There are four classes of quietists: (1) those who are satisfied with God's gift (*'ata*), which is gnosis (*ma'rifat*); (2) those who are satisfied with happiness (*nu'ma*), which is this world; (3) those who are satisfied with affliction (*bala*), which consists of diverse probations; and (4) those who are satisfied with being chosen (*istifa*), which is love *mahabbat*). He who looks away from the Giver to the gift accepts it with his soul, and when he has so accepted it trouble and grief vanish from his heart. He who looks away from the gift to the Giver loses the gift and treads the path of satisfaction by his own effort. Now effort is painful and grievous, and gnosis is only realized when its true nature is divinely revealed; and inasmuch as gnosis, when sought by effort, is a shackle and a veil, such gnosis is non-cognition (*nakirat*). Again, he who is satisfied with this world, without God, is involved in destruction and perdition, because the whole world is not worth so much that a friend

of God should set his heart on it or that any care for its should enter his mind. Happiness is happiness only when it leads to the Giver of happiness; otherwise, it is an affliction. Again, he who is satisfied with the affliction that God sends is satisfied because in the affliction he sees the Author thereof and can endure its pain by contemplating Him who sent it; nay, he does not account it painful, such is his joy in contemplating his Beloved. Fainally, those who are satisfied with being chosen by God are His lovers, whose existence is an illusion alike in His anger and His satisfaction; whose hearts dwell in the presence of Purity and in the garden of Intimacy; who have no thought of created things and have escaped from the bonds of "stations" and "states" and have devoted themselves to the love of God. Their satisfaction involves no loss, for satisfaction with God is a manifest kingdom.

SECTION

It is related in the Traditions that Moses said: "O God, show me an action with which, if I did it, Thou wouldst be satisfied." God answered: "Thou canst not do that, O Moses!" Then Moses fell prostrate, worshipping God and supplicating Him, and God made a revelation to him, saying: "O son of 'Imran, My satisfaction with thee consists in thy being satisfied with My decree," i.e. when a man is satisfied with God's decrees it is a sign that God is satisfied with him.

Bishr Hafi asked Fudayl b. 'Iyad whether renunciation (zuhd) or satisfaction was better. Fudayl replied: "Satisfaction, because he who is satisfied does not desire any higher stage," i.e. there is above renunciation a stage which the renouncer desires, but there is no stage above satisfaction that the satisfied man should wish for it. Hence the shrine is superior to the gate. This story shows the

correctness of Muhasibi's doctrine, that satisfaction belongs to the class of "states" and Divine gifts, not to the stages that are acquired (by effort). It is possible, however, that the satisfied man should have a desire. The Apostle used to say in his prayers: "O God, I ask of Thee satisfaction after the going forth of Thy ordinance (*al-rida ba'd al-qada*)," i.e."keep me in such a condition that when the ordinance comes to me from Thee, Destiny may find me satisfied with its coming". Here it is affirmed that satisfaction properly is posterior to the advent of Destiny, because, if it preceded, it would only be a resolution to be satisfied, which is not the same thing as actual satisfaction. Abu 'l-'Abbas b. 'Ata says: "Satisfaction is this, that the heart should consider the eternal choice of God on behalf of His creature," i.e. whatever befalls him, he should recognize it as the eternal will of God and His past decree, and should not be distressed, but should accept it cheerfully. Harith Muhasibi, the author of the doctrine, says: "Satisfaction is the quiescence (*sukun*) of the heart under the events which flow from the Divine decrees." This is sound doctrine, because the quiescence and tranquility of the heart are not qualities acquired by Man, but are Divine gifts. And as an argument for the view that satisfaction is a "state", not a "station", they cite the story of 'Utba al-Ghulam, who one night did not sleep, but kept saying: "If Thou chastise me I love Thee, and if Thou have mercy on me I love Thee," i.e. "the pain of Thy chastisement and the pleasure of Thy bounty affect the body alone, whereas the agitation of love resides in the heart, which is not injured thereby". This corroborates the view of Muhasibi. Satisfaction is the result of love, inasmuch as the lover is satisfied with what is done by the Beloved. Abu 'Uthman Hiri says: "During the last forty years God has never put me in any state that I disliked, or transferred me to another state that I resented." This indicates continual satisfaction and perfect love. The story of the dervish who fell into the Tigris is well known.

Seeing that he could not swim, a man on the bank cried out to him: "Shall I tell some one to bring you ashore?" The dervish said, "No." "Then do you wish to be drowned?" "No." "What, then, do you wish?" The dervish replied: "That which God wishes. What have I to do with wishing?"

The Sufi Shaykhs have uttered many sayings on satisfaction, which differ in phraseology but agree in the two principles that have been mentioned.

The distinction between a "State" (*hal*) and a "Station" (*maqam*)

You must know that both these terms are in common use among Sufis, and it is necessary that the student should be acquainted with them. I must discuss this matter here, although it does not belong to the present chapter.

"Station" (*maqam*) denotes anyone's "standing" in the Way of God, and his fulfilment of the obligations appertaining to that "station" and his keeping it until he comprehends its perfection so far as lies in a man's power. It is not permissible that he should quit his "station" without fulfilling the obligations thereof. Thus, the first "station is repentance (tawbah), then comes conversion (*inabat*), then renunciation (*zuhd*), then trust in God (*tawakkul*), and so on: it is not permissible that anyone should pretend to conversion without reprentance, or to renunciation without conversion, or to trust in God without renunciation.

"State" (*hal*), on the other hand, is something that descends from God into a man's heart, without his being able to repel it when it comes, or to attract it when it goes, by his own effort. Accordingly, while the term "station" denotes the way of the seeker, and his progress in the field of exertion, and his rank before God in proportion to his

merit, the term "state" denotes the favour and grace which God bestows upon the heart of His servant, and which are not connected with any mortification on the latter's part. "Station" belongs to the category of acts, "state" to the category of gifts. Hence the man that has a "station" stands by his own self-mortification, whereas the man that has a "state" is dead to "self" and stands by a "state" which God creates in him.

Here the Shaykhs are at variance. Some hold that a "state" may be permanent, while others reject this view. Harith Muhasibi maintained that a "state" maybe permanent. He argued that love and longing and "contraction" (*qabd*) and "expansion" (*bast*) are "states": if they cannot be permanent, then the lover would not be a lover, and until a man's "state" becomes his attribute (*sifat*) the name of that "state" is not properly applied to him. It is for this reason that he holds satisfaction to be one of the "states", and the same view is indicated by the saying of Abu 'Uthman: "During the last forty years God has never put me in a 'state' that I disliked." Other Shaykhs deny that a "state" can be permanent. Junayd says: "States' are like flashes of lightning: their permanence is merely a suggestion of the lower soul (*nafs*)". Some have said, to the same effect: "States: are like their name" i.e. they vanish almost as soon as they descend (*tahillu*) on the heart. Whatever is permanent becomes an attribute, and attributes subsist in an object which must be more perfect than the attributes themselves; and this reduces the doctrine that "states" are permanent to an absurdity. I have set forth the distinction between "state" and "station" in order that you may know what is signified by these terms wherever they occur in the phraseology of the Sufis or in the present work.

In conclusion, you must know that satisfaction is the end of the "stations" and the beginning of the "states": it is

a place of which one side rests on acquisition and effort, and the other side on love and rapture: there is no "station" above it: at this point mortifications (*mujahadah*) cease. Hence its beginning is in the class of things acquired by effort, its end in the class of things divinely bestowed. Therefore it may be called either a "station" or a "state".

This is the doctrine of Muhasibi as regards the theory of Sufi'ism. In practice, however, he made no difference, except that he used to warn his pupils against expressions and acts which, though sound in principle, might be thought evil. For example, he had a "king-bird" (*shahmurghi*), which used to utter a loud note. One day Abu Hamza of Baghdad, who was Harith's pupil and an ecstatic man, came to see him. The bird piped, and Abu Hamza gave a shriek. Harith rose up and seized a knife, crying, "Thou art an infidel," and would have killed him if the disciples had not separated them. Then he said to Abu Hamza: "Become a Muslim, O miscreant!" The disciples exclaimed: "O Shaykh, we all know him to be one of the elect saints and Unitarians: why does the Shaykh regard him with suspicion?" Harith replied: "I do not suspect him: his opinions are excellent, and I know that he is a profound Unitarian, but why should he do something which resembles the actions of those who believe in incarnation (*hululiyan*) and has the appearance of being derived from their doctrine? If a senseless bird pipes after its fashion, capriciously, why should he behave as though its note were the voice of God? God is indivisible, and the Eternal does not become incarnate, or united with phenomena or commingled with them." When Abu Hamza perceived the Shaykh's insight, he said: "O Shaykh, although I am right in theory, nevertheless, since my action resembled the action of heretics, I repent and withdraw."

May God keep my conduct above suspicion! But this

is impossible when one associates with worldy formalists whose enmity is aroused by anyone who does not submit to their hypocrisy and sin.

2. THE QASSARIS

They are the followers of Abu Saleh Hamdun b. Ahmad b. 'Umara al-Qassar, a celebrated divine and eminent Sufi. His doctrine was the manifestation and divulgation of "blame" (*malamat*). He used to say: "God's knowledge of thee is better than men's knowledge," i.e. thy dealings with God in private should be better than thy dealings with men in public, for thy preoccupation with men is the greatest veil between thee and God. I have given some account of al-Qassar in the chapter on "Blame". He relates the following story: "One day, while I was walking in the river-bed in the Hira quarter of Nishapur, I met Nuh, a brigand famous for his generosity, who was the captain of all the brigands of Nishapur. I said to him, 'O Nuh, what is generosity?' He replied, 'My generosity or yours?' I said, 'Describe both.' He replied: 'I put off the coat (*qaba*) and wear a patched frock and practise the conduct appropriate to that garment, in order that I may become a Sufi and refrain from sin because of the shame that I feel before God; but you put off the patched frock in order that you may not be deceived by men, and that men may not be deceived by thee: accordingly, my generosity is formal observance of the religious law, while your generosity is spiritual observance of the Truth." This is a very sound principle.

3. THE TAYFURIS

They are the followers of Abu Yazid Tayfur b. Isa b. Surushan al-Bistami, a great and eminent Sufi. His doctrine is rapture (*ghalabah*) and intoxication (*sukr*). Rapturous

longing for God and intoxication of love cannot be acquired by human beings, and it is idle to claim, and absurd to imitate, anything that lies beyond the range of acquisition. Intoxication is not an attribute of the sober, and Man has no power of drawing it to himself. The intoxicated man is enraptured and pays no heed to created things, that he should manifest and quality involving conscious effort (*taklif*). The Sufi Shaykhs are agreed that no one is a proper model the others unless he is steadfast (*mustaqim*) and has escaped from the circle of "states"; but there are some who allow that the way of rapture and intoxication may be trodden with effort, because the Apostle said: "Weep, or else make as though ye wept!" Now, to imitate others for the sake of ostentation is sheer polytheism, but it is different when the object of the imitator is that God may perchance raise him to the rank of those whom he has imitated, in accordance with the saying of the Apostle: "Whoever makes himself like unto a people is one of them." And one of the Shaykhs said: "Contemplations (mushahadah) are the result of mortifications (mujahadah)." My own view is that, although mortifications are always excellent, intoxication and rapture cannot be acquired at all; hence they cannot be induced by mortifications, which in themselves never become a cause of intoxication. I will now set forth the different opinions of the Shaykhs concerning the true nature of intoxication (*sukr*) and sobriety (*sahw*), in order that difficulties maybe removed.

Discourse on Intoxication and Sobriety

You must know that "intoxication" and "rapture" are terms used by spiritualists to denote the rapture of love for God, while the term "sobriety" expresses the attainment of that which is desired. Some place the former above the latter, and some hold the latter to be superior. Abu Yazid

and his followers prefer intoxication to sobriety. They say that sobriety involves the fixity and equilibrium of human attributes, which are the greatest veil between God and Man, whereas intoxication involves the destruction of human attributes, like foresight and choice, and the annihilation of a man's self-control in God, so that only those faculties survive in him that do not belong to the human genus; and they are the most complete and perfect. Thus David was in the state of sobriety; an act proceeded from him which God attributed to him and said, "David killed Goliath" (Qur.ii,252): but our Apostle was in the state of intoxication; an act proceeded from him which God attributed to Himself and said, "Thou didst not throw, when thou threwest, but God threw" (Qur.viii,17). How great is the difference between these two men! The attribution of a man's act to God is better than the attribution of God's act to a man, for in the latter case the man stands by himself, while in the former case he stands through God.

Junayd and his followers prefer sobriety to intoxication. They say that intoxication is evil, because it involves the disturbance of one's normal state and loss of sanity and self-control; and inasmuch as the principle of all things is sought either by way of annihilation or subsistence, or of effacement or affirmation, the principle of verification cannot be attained unless the seeker is sane. Blindness will never release anyone from the bondage and corruption of phenomena. The fact that people remain in phenomena and forget God is due to their not seeing things as they really are; for if they saw, they would escape. Seeing is of two kinds: he who looks at anything sees it either with the eye of subsistence (*baqa*) or with the eye of annihilation (*fana*). If with the eye of subsistence, he perceives that the whole universe is imperfect in comparison with his own subsistence, for he does not regard phenomena as self-subsistent; and if he looks with

the eye of annihilation, he perceives that all created things are non-existent beside the subsistence of God. In either case he turns away from created things. On this account the Apostle said in his prayer: "O God, show us things as they are," because whoever thus sees them finds rest. Now, such vision cannot be properly attained except in the state of sobriety, and the intoxicated have no knowledge thereof. For example, Moses was intoxicated; he could not endure the manifestation of one epiphany, but fell in a swoon (Qur.vii,139): but our Apostle was sober; he beheld the same glory continuously, with ever-increasing consciousness, all the way from Makkah, until he stood at the space of two bow-lengths from the Divine presence (Qur.liii,9).

My Shaykh, who followed the doctrine of Junayd, used to say that intoxication is the playground of children, but sobriety is the deathfield of men. I say, in agreement with my Shaykh, that the perfection of the state of the intoxicated man is sobriety. The lowest stage in sobriety consists in regarding the powerlessness of humanity: therefore, a sobriety that appears to be evil is better than an intoxication that is really evil. It is related that Abu 'Uthman Maghribi, in the earlier part of his life, passed twenty years in retirement, living in deserts where he never heard the sound of a human voice, until his frame was wasted and his eyes became as small as the eye of a sack-needle. After twenty years he was commanded to associate with mankind. He resolved to begin with the people of God who dwelt beside His Temple, since by doing so he would gain a greater blessing. The Shaykhs of Makkah were aware of his coming and went forth to meet him. Finding him so changed that he hardly seemed to be a human creature, they said to him: "O Abu 'Uthman, tell us why you went and what you saw and what you gained and wherefore you have come back." He replied: "I went

because of intoxication, and I saw the evil of intoxication, and I gained despair, and I have come back on account of weakness." All the Shaykhs said: "O Abu 'Uthman, it is not lawful for anyone after you to explain the meaning of sobriety and intoxication, for you have done justice to the whole matter and have shown forth the evil of intoxication."

Intoxication, then, is to fancy one's self annihilated while the attributes really subsist; and this is a veil. Sobriety, on the other hand, is the vision of subsistence while the attributes are annihilated; and this is actual revelation. It is absurd for anyone to suppose that intoxication is nearer to annihilation than sobriety is, for intoxication is a quality that exceeds sobriety, and so long as a man's attributes tend to increase he is without knowledge; but when he begins to diminish them, seekers (of God) have some hope of him.

It is related that Yahya b. Mu'adh wrote to Abu Yazid: "What do you say of one who drinks a single drop of the ocean of love and becomes intoxicated?" Bayazid wrote in reply: "What do you say of one who, if all the oceans in the world were filled with the wine of love, would drink them all and still cry for more to slake his thirst?" People imagine that Yahya was speaking of intoxication, and Bayazid of sobriety, but the opposite is the case. The man of sobriety is he who is unable to drink even one drop, and the man of intoxication is he who drinks all and still desires more. Wine being the instrument of intoxication, but the enemy of sobriety, intoxication demands what is homogeneous with itself whereas sobriety takes no pleasure in drinking.

There are two kinds of intoxication: (1) with the wine of affection (*mawaddat*) and (2) with the cup of love

(*mahabbat*). The former is "caused" (ma'lul), since it arises from regarding the benefit (*ni'mat*); but the latter has no cause, since it arises from regarding the benefactor (*mun'im*). He who regards the benefit sees through himself and therefore sees himself, but he who regards the benefactor sees through Him and therefore does not see himself, so that, although he is intoxicated, his intoxication is sobriety.

Sobriety also is of two kinds: sobriety in heedlessness (*ghaflat*) and sobriety in love (mahabbat). The former is the greatest of veils, but the latter is the clearest of revelations. The sobriety that is connected with heedlessness is really intoxication, while that which is linked with love, although it be intoxication, is really sobriety. When the principle (*asl*) is firmly established, sobriety and intoxication resemble one another, but when the principle is wanting, both are baseless. In short, where true mystics tread, sobriety and intoxication are the effect of difference (*ikhtilaf*), and when the Sultan of Truth displays his beauty, both sobriety and intoxication appear to be intruders (*tufayli*), because the boundaries of both are joined, and the end of the one is the beginning of the other, and beginning and end are terms that imply separation, which has only a relative existence. In union all separations are negated, as the poet says :--

"When the morning-star of wine rises,
The drunken and the sober are as one."

At Sarakhs there were two spiritual directors, namely, Luqman and Abu 'l-Fadl Hasan. One day Luqman came to Abu 'l-Fadl and found him with a piece (of manuscript) in his hand. He said: "O Abu 'l-Fadl, what are you seeking in this paper?" Abu 'l-Fadl replied: "The same thing as you are seeking without a paper." Luqman said: "Then why this

difference?" Abu 'l-Fadl answered: "You see a difference when you ask me what I am seeking. Become sober from intoxication and get rid of sobriety, in order that the difference maybe removed from you and that you may know what you and I are in search of."

The Tayfuris and Junaydis are at variance to the extent which has been indicated. As regards ethics, the doctrine of Bayazid consists in shunning companionship and choosing retirement from the world, and he enjoined all his disciples to do the same. This is a praiseworthy and laudable Path.

4. THE JUNAYDIS

They are the followers of Abu 'l-Qasim al-Junayd b. Muhammad, who in his time was called the Peacock of the Divines (Ta'us al-'Ulama). He is the chief of this sect and the Imam of their Imams. His doctrine is based on sobriety and is opposed to that of the Tayfuris, as has been explained. It is the best known and most celebrated of all doctrines, and all the Shaykhs have adopted it, notwithstanding that there is much difference in their sayings on the ethics of Sufi'ism. Want of space forbids me to discuss it further in this book: those who wish to become better acquainted with it must seek information elsewhere.

I have read in the Anecdotes that when Husayn b. Mansur (al-Hallaj) in his repture broke off all relations with 'Amr b. 'Uthman (al-Makki) and came to Junayd, Junayd asked him for what purpose he had come to him. Husayn said: "For the purpose of associating with the Shaykh." Junayd replied: "I do not associate with madmen. Association demands sanity; if that is wanting, the result is such behaviour as yours in regard to Sahl b. 'Abdullah Tustari and 'Amr." Husayn said: "O Shaykh, sobriety and intoxication are two attributes of Man, and Man is veiled

from his Lord until his attributes are annihilated." "O son of Mansur," said Junayd, "you are in error concerning sobriety and intoxication. The former denotes soundness of one's spiritual state in relation to God, while the latter denotes excess of longing and extremity of love, and neither of them can be acquired by human effort. O son of Mansur, in your words I see much foolishness and nonsense."

5. THE NURIS

They are the followers of Abu 'l-Hasan Ahmad b. Muhammad Nuri, one of the most eminent and illustrious Sufi divines. The principle of his doctrine is to regard Sufi'ism (*tasawwuf*) as superior to poverty (*faqr*). In matters of conduct he agrees with Junayd. It is a peculiarity of his "path" that in companionship (*suhbat*) he prefers his companion's claim to his own, and holds companionship without preference (*ithar*) to be unlawful. He also holds that companionship is obligatory on dervishes, and that retirement (*'uzlat*) is not praiseworthy, and that everyone is bound to prefer his companion to himself. It is related that he said: "Beware of retirement! for it is in connexion with Satan; and cleave to companionship, for therein is the satisfaction of the Merciful God."

Now I will explain the true nature of preference, and when I come to the chapter on companionship and retirement I will set forth the mysteries of the subject in order to make it more generally instructive.

Discourse on Preference (*ithar*)

God said: "And they prefer them to themselves, although they are indigent" (Qur.lix,9). This verse was revealed concerning the poor men among the Companions in particular. The true nature of preference consists in

maintaining the rights of the person with whome one associates, and in subordinating one's own interest to the interest of one's friend, and in taking trouble upon one's self for the sake of promoting his happiness, because preference is the rendering of help to others, and the putting into practice of that which God commanded to His Apostle: "Use indulgence and command what is just and turn away from the ignorant" (Qur.vii,198). this will be explained more fully in the chapter on the rules of companionship.

Now, preference is of two kinds: firstly, in companionship, as has been mentioned; and secondly, in love. In preferring the claim of one's companion there is a sort of trouble and effort, but in preferring the claim of one's beloved there is nothing but pleasure and delight. It is well known that when Ghulam al-Khalil persecuted the Sufis, Nuri and Raqqam and Abu Hamza were arrested and conveyed to the Caliph's palace. Ghulam al-Khalil urged the Caliph to put them to death, saying that they were heretics (*zanadiqa*), and the Caliph immediately gave orders for their execution. When the executioner approached Raqqam, Nuri rose and offered himself in Raqqam's place with the utmost cheerfulness and submission. All the spectators were astounded. The executioner said: "O young man, the sword is not a thing that people desire to meet so eagerly as you have welcomed it; and your turn has not yet arrived." Nuri answered: "Yes; my doctrine is founded on preference. Life is the most precious thing in the world: I wish to sacrifice for my brethren's sake the few moments that remain. In my opinion, one moment of this world is better than a thousand years of the next world, because this is the place of service (*khidmat*) and that is the place of proximity (*qurbat*), and proximity is gained by service." The tenderness of Nuri and the fineness of his saying astonished the Caliph (who was informed by a courier of what had passed) to such a degree,

that he suspended the execution of the three Sufis and charged the chief Qazi, Abu 'l-'Abbas b. 'Ali, to inquire into the matter. The Qazi, having taken them to his house and questioned them concerning the ordinances of the Law and the Truth, found them perfect, and felt remorse for his indifference to their fate. Then Nuri said: "O Qazi, though you have asked all these questions, you have not yet asked anything to the point, for God has servants who eat through Him, and drink through Him, and sit through Him, and live though Him, and abide in contemplation of Him: if they were cut off from contemplating Him they would cry out in anguish." The Qazi was amazed at the subtlety of his speech and the soundness of his state. He wrote to the Caliph: "If the Sufis are heretics, who in the world is a Unitarian?" The Caliph called them to his presence and said: "Ask a boon." They replied: "The only boon we ask of thee is that thou shouldst forget us, and neither make us thy favourites nor banish us from thy court, for thy favour and displeasure are alike to us." The Caliph wept and dismissed them with honour.

It is related that Nafi[3] said: "Ibne 'Umar[4] desired to eat a fish. I sought through the town, but did not find one until several days had passed. Having procured it, I gave orders that it should be placed on a cake of bread and presented it to him. I noticed an expression of joy on his face as he received it, but suddenly a beggar came to the door of his house and he ordered the fish to be given to him. The servant said: 'O master, you have been desiring a fish for several days; let us give the beggar something else.' Ibne 'Umar replied: 'This fish is unlawful to me, for I have put it out of my mind on account of a Tradition which I heard from the Apostle: Whenever anyone feels a desire and repels it and prefers another to himself, he shall be forgiven.'"

I have read in the Anecdotes that ten dervishes lost their way in the desert and were overtaken by thirst. They had only one cup of water, and everyone preferred the claim of the others, so that none of them would drink and they all died except one, who then drank it and found strength to escape. Some person said to him: "Had you not drunk, it would have been better." He replied: "The Law obliged me to drink; if I had not, I should have killed myself and been punished on that account." The other said: "Then did your friends kill themselves?" "No," said the dervish; "they refused to drink in order that their companions might drink, but when I alone survived I was legally obliged to drink."[5]

Among the Israelites there was a devotee who had served God for four hundred years. One day he said: "O Lord, if Thou hadst not created these mountains, wandering for religion's sake (*siyahat*) would have been easier for Thy servants". The Divine command came to the Apostle of that time to say to the devotee: "What business have you to interfere in My kingdom? Now, since you have interfered, I blot your name from the register of the blest and inscribe it in the register of the damned." On hearing this, the devotee trembled with joy and bowed to the ground in thanksgiving. The Apostle said: "O fool, it is not necessary to bow down in thanks giving for damnation." "My thanks giving," the devotee replied: "is not for damnation, but because my name is at least inscribed in one of His registers. But, O Apostle, I have a boon to ask. Say unto God, 'Since Thou wilt send me to Hell, make me so large that I may take the place of all sinful Unitarians, and let them go to Paradise.'" God commanded the Apostle to tell the devotee that the probation which he had undergone was not for the purpose of humiliating him, but to reveal him to the people, and that on the Day of Resurrection both he and those for whom he had interceded would be in Paradise.

I askcd Ahmad Hammadi of Sarakhs what was the beginning of his conversion. He replied: "Once I set out from Sarakhs and took my camels into the desert and stayed there for a considerable time. I was always wishing to be hungry and was giving my portion of food to others, and the words of God - "They prefer them to themselves, although thcy arc indigent" (Qur.lix,9) -- were ever fresh in my mind; and I had a firm belief in the Sufis. One day a hungry lion camc from descrt and killed one of my camels and retired to some rising ground and roared. All the wild beasts in the neighbourhood, hearing him roar, gathered round him. He tore the camel to pieces and wcnt back to the higher ground without having eaten anything. The other beasts -- foxes, jackals, wolves, etc. -- began to eat, and the lion waited until they had gone away. Then he approached in order to eat a morsel, but seeing a lame fox in the distancc hc withdrew once more until the new comer had eaten his fill. After that, he came and ate a morsel. As he departed he spoke to me, who had been watching from afar, and said: "O Ahmad, to prefer others to one's self in the matter of food is an act only worthy of dogs: a man sacrifices his life and his soul.' When I saw this evidence I renounced all worldly occupations, and that was the beginning of my conversion."

Ja'far Khuldi says: "One day, when Abu 'l-Hasan Nuri was praying to God in solitude I went to overhear him, for he was very eloquent. He was saying, 'O Lord, in Thy eternal knowledge and power and will Thou dost punish the people of Hell, whom Thou hast cdreated; and if it be Thy inexorable will to make Hell full of mankind, Thou art able to fill that Hell and all its limbos with me alone and to send them to Paradise.' I was amazed by his speech, but I dreamed that some one came to me and said: 'God bids thee tell Abu 'l-Hasan that he has been forgiven on account of his compassion for God's creatures and his reverence for God.'"

He was called Nuri because when he spoke in a dark room the whole room was illuminated by the light (*nur*) of his spirituality. And by the light of the Turth he used to read the in most thoughts of his disciples, so that Junayd said: "Abu 'l-Hasan is the spy on men's hearts (*jasus al-qulub*)."

This is his peculiar doctrine. It is a sound principle, and one of great importance in the eyes of those who have insight. Nothing is harder to a man than spiritual sacrifice (*badhl-i ruh*) and to refrain from the object of his love, and God hath made this sacrifice the key of all good, as He said: "Ye shall never attain to righteousness until ye give in alms of that which ye love" (Qur.iii, 86). When a man's spirit is sacrificed, of what value are his wealth and his health and his frock and his food? This is the foundation of Sufi'ism. Some one came to Ruwaym and asked him for direction. Ruwaym said: "O my son, the whole affair consists in spiritual sacrifice. If you are able for this, it is well; if not, do not occupy yourself with the futilities (turrahat) of the Sufis," i.e. all except this is futile; and God said: "Do not call dead those who are slain in the way of God. Nay, they are living" (Qur.ii,149). Eternal life is gained by spiritual sacrifice and by renunciation of self interest in fulfilling God's commandment and by obedience to His friends. But from the standpoint of gnosis (*ma'rifat*) preference and free choice are separation (*tafriqat*), and real preference consists in union with God, for the true basis of self interest is self abandonment. So long as the seeker's progress is connected with acquisition (*kasb*) it is pernicious, but when the attracting influence (*jadhb*) of the Truth manifests its dominion all his actions are confounded, and he loses all power of expression; nor can any name be applied to him or any description be given of him or anything be imputed to him. On this subject Shibli says in verse :--

"I am lost to myself and unconscious,
And my attributes are annihilated.
Today I am lost to all things:
Naught remains but a forced expression."

6. THE SAHLIS

They are the followers of Sahl b. 'Abdullah of Tustar, a great and venerable Sufi, who has been already mentioned. His doctrine inculcates endeavour and self-mortification and ascetic training, and he used to bring his disciples to perfection in self-mortification (*mujahadah*). it is related in a well-known anecdote that he said to one of his disciples: "Strive to say continuously for one day, 'O Allah! O Allah! O Allah!' and do the same next day and the day after that," until he became habituated to saying those words. Then he bade him repeat them at night also, until they became so familiar that he uttered them even during his sleep. Then he said: "Do not repeat them any more, but let all your faculties be engrossed in remembering God". The disciple did this, until he became absorbed in the thought of God. One day, when he was in his house, a piece of wood fell on his head and broke it. The drops of blood which trickled to the ground bore the legend "Allah! Allah! Allah!"

The "path" of the Sahlis is to educate disciples by acts of self-mortification and austerities; that of the Hamdunis[6] is to serve and reverence dervishes; and that of the Junaydis is to keep watch over one's spiritual state (*muraqaba-i batin*).

The object of all austerities and acts of self-mortification is resistance to the lower soul (*nafs*), and until a man knows his lower soul his austerities are of no use to

him. Now, therefore, I will explain the knowledge and true nature of the lower soul, and in the next place I will lay down the doctrine concerning self-mortification and its principles.

*Discourse touching the true nature of the Lower Soul (*nafs*) and the meaning of Passion (*hawa*)*

You must know that *nafs*, etymologically, is the essence and reality of anything, but in popular language it is used to denote many contradictory meanings, e.g. "spirit", "virility" (*muruwwat*), "body", and "blood". The mystics of this sect, however, are agreed that it is the source and principle of evil, but while some assert that it is a substance (*'ayn*) located in the body, as the spirit (*ruh*) is, others hold it to be an attribute of the body, as life is. But they all agree that through it base qualities are manifested and that it is the immediate cause of blameworthy actions. Such actions are of two kinds, namely, sins (*ma'asi*) and base qualities (*akhlaq-i dani*), like pride, envy, avarice, anger, hatred, etc., which are not commendable in law and reason. These qualities can be removed by discipline (*riyadat*): e.g., sins are removed by repentance. Sins belong to the class of external attributes, whereas the qualities above mentioned belong to the class of internal attributes. Similarly, discipline is an external act, and repentance is an internal attribute. A base quality that appears within is purged by excellent outward attributes, and one that appears *without* is purged by laudable inward attributes. Both the lower soul and the spirit are subtle things (lata'if) existing in the body, just as devils and angels and Paradise and Hell exist in the universe; but the one is the seat of good, while the other is the seat of evil. Hence, resistance to the lower soul is the chief of all acts of devotion and the crown of all acts of self-mortification, and only thereby can Man find the way to God, because submission to the lower

soul involves his destruction and resistance to it involves his salvation.[7]

Now, every attribute needs an object whereby it subsists, and knowledge of that attribute, namely, the soul, is not attained save by knowledge of the whole body, which knowledge in turn demands an explanation of the qualities of human nature (*insaniyyat*) and the mystery thereof, and is incumbent upon all seekers of the Truth, because whoever is ignorant of himself is yet more ignorant of other things; and inasmuch as a man is bound to know God, he must first know himself, in order that by rightly perceiving his own temporality he may recognize the eternity of God, and may learn the everlastingness of God through his own perishableness. The Apostle said: "He who knows himself already knows his Lord," i.e., if he knows himself as perishable he knows God as everlasting, or if he knows himself as humble he knows God as Almighty, or if he knows himself as a servant he knows God as the Lord. Therefore one who does not know himself is debarred from knowledge of all things.

As regards the knowledge of human nature and the various opinions held on that topic, some Muslims assert that Man is nothing but spirit (*ruh*), of which this body is the cuirass and temple and residence, in order to preserve it from being injured by the natural humours (*tabayi'*), and of which the attributes are sensation and intelligence. This view is false, because a body from which the soul (*jan*) has departed is still called "a human being" (*insan*); if the soul is joined with it is "a live human being", and if the soul is gone it is "a dead human being". Moreover, a soul is located in the bodies of animals, yet they are not called "human beings". If the spirit (*ruh*) were the cause of human nature, it would follow that the principle of human nature must exist in every creature possessed fo a soul (*jan-dari*);

which is a proof of the falsity of their assertion. Others, again, have stated that the term "human nature" is applicable to the spirit and the body together, and that it no longer applies when one is separated from the other; e.g., when two colours, black and white, are combined on a horse, it is called "piebald" (*ablaq*), whereas the same colours, apart from each other, are called "black" and "white". This too is false, in accordance with God's word: "Did there not come over man a space of time during which he was not a thing worthy of mention?" (Qur.lxxvi,I): in this verse Man's clay, without soul - for the soul had not yet been joined to his body - is called "Man". Others aver that "Man" is an atom, centred in the heart, which is the principle of all human attributes. This also is absurd, for if anyone is killed and his heart is taken out of his body he does not lose the name of "human being"; moreover, it is agreed that the heart was not in the human body before the soul. Some pretenders to Sufi'ism have fallen into error on this subject. They declare that "Man" is not that which eats and drinks and suffers decay, but a Divine mystery, of which this body is the vesture, situated in the interfusion of the natural humours (*imtizaj-i tab*) and in the union (*ittihad*) of body and spirit. To this I reply, that by universal consent the name of "human being" belongs to sane men and mad, and to infidels and immoral and ignorant persons, in whom there is no such "myster" and who suffer decay and eat and drink; and that there is not anything called "Man" in the body, either while it exists or after it has ceased to exist. God Almighty has given the name of "Man" to the sum of the substances which He compounded in us, excluding those things which are not to be found in some human beings, e.g. in the verses "And We have created Man of the choicest clay," etc. (Qur.xxiii,12-14). Therefore, according to the word of God, Who is the most veracious of all who speak the Truth, this particular form, with all its ingredients and with all the changes which it

undergoes, is "Man". In like manner, certain Sunnis have said that Man is a living creature whose form has these characteristics, and that death does not deprive him of this name, and that he is endowed with a definite physiognomy (*surat-i ma'hud*) and a distinct organ (*alat-i mawsum*) both externally and internally. By "a definite physiognomy" they mean that he has either good or ill health, and by "a distinct organ" that he is either mad or sane. it is generally allowed that the more sound (*sahih*) a thing is, the more perfect it is in constitution. You must know, then, that in the opinion of mystics the most perfect composition of Man includes three elements, viz. spirit, soul, and body; and that each of these has an attributes which subsists therein, the attribute of spirit being intelligence, of soul, passion, and of body, sensation. Man is a type of the whole universe. The universe is the name of the two worlds, and in Man there is a vestige of both, for he is composed of phlegm, blood, bile, and melancholy, which four humours correspond to the four elements of this world, viz. water, earth, air, and fire, while his soul (*jan*), his lower soul (*nafs*), and his body correspond to Paradise, Hell, and the place of Resurrection. Paradise is the effect of God's satisfaction, and Hell is the result of His anger. Similarly, the spirit of the true believer reflects the peace of knowledge, and his lower soul the error which veils him from God. As, at the Resurrection, the believer must be released from Hell before he can reach Paradise and attain to real vision and pure love, so in this world he must escape from his lower soul before he can attain to real discipleship (*iradat*), of which the spirit is the principle, and to real proximity (to God) and gnosis. Hence, whoever knows Him in this world and turns away from all besides and follows the highway of the sacred law, at the Resurrection he will not see Hell and the Bridge (*Sirat*). In short, the believer's spirit calls him to Paradise, of which it is a type in this world, and his lower soul calls him to Hell, of which it is a type in this world. Therefore it behoves

those who seek God never to relax their resistance to the lower soul, in order that thereby they may reinforce the spirit and the intelligence, which are the home of the Divine mystery.

SECTION

As regards what has been said by the Shaykhs concerning the lower soul, Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian says: "Vision of the lower soul and its promptings is the worst of veils," because obedience to it is disobedience to God, which is the origin of all veils. Abu Yazid Bistami says: "The lower soul is an attribute which never rests save in falsehood," i.e. it never seeks the Truth. Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Tirmidhi says: "You wish to know God while your lower soul subsists in you; but your lower soul does not know itself, how should it know another?" Junayd says: "To fulfil the desires of your lower soul is the foundtion of infidelity," because the lower soul is not connected with, and is always striving to turn away from, the pure truth of Islam; and he who turns away denies, and he who denies is an alien (begana). Abu Sulayman Darani says: "The lower soul is treacherous and hindering (one who seeks to please God); and resistance to it is the best of actions."

Now I come to my main purpose, which is to set forth the doctrine of Sahl concerning the mortification and discipline of the lower soul, and to explain its true nature.

Discourse on the Mortification of the Lower Soul

God has said: "Those who strive to the utmost (*jahadu*) for Our sake, We will guide them into Our ways" (Qur.xxix,69). And the Prophet said: "The (*mujahid*) is he who struggles with all his might against himself (*jahada nafsahu*) for God's sake." And he also said: "We have

returned from the lesser war (*al-jihad al-asghar*) to the greater war (al-jihad al-akbar). On being asked, "What is the greater war?" he replied, "It is the struggle against one's self (*mujahadat al-nafs*). Thus the Apostle adjudged the mortification of the lower soul to be superior to the Holy War against unbelieverse, because the former is more painful. You must know, then, that the way of mortification is plain and manifest, for it is approved by men of all religions and sects, and is observed and practised by the sufis in particular; and the term "mortification" (*mujahadah*) is current among Sufis of every class, and the Shaykhs have uttered many sayings on this topic.

Sahl b. 'Abdullah Tustari carries the principle to an extreme point. It is related that he used to break his fast only once in fifteen days, and he ate but little food in the course of his long life. While all mystics have affirmed the need of mortification, and have declared it to be an indirect means (*asbab*) of attaining contemplation (mushahadah), Sahl asserted that mortification is the direct cause (*'illat*) of the latter, and he attributed to search (*talab*) a powerful effect on attainment (*yaft*), so that he even regarded the present life, spent in search, as superior to the future life of fruition. "If," he said, "you serve God in this world, you will attain proximity to Him in the next world: without that service there would not be this proximity: it follows that self-mortification, practised with the aid of God, is the direct cause of union with God." Others, on the contrary, hold that there is no direct cause of union with God, and whoever attains to God does so by Divine grace (*fadl*), which is independent of human actions. Therefore, they argue, the object of mortification is to correct the vices of the lower soul, not to attain real proximity, and inasmuch as mortification is referred to Man, while contemplation is referred to God, it is impossible that one should be caused by the other. Sahl, however, cites in favour of his view the words of God: "Those who strive to the utmost for Our

sake, We will guide them into Our ways" (Qur.xxix, 69), i.e. whoever mortifies himself will attain to contemplation. Furthermore, he contends that inasmuch as the books revealed to the Prophets, and the Sacred Law, and all the religious ordinances imposed on mankind involve mortification, they must all be false and vain if mortification were not the cause of contemplation. Again, both in this world and the next, everything is connected with principles and causes. If it is maintained that principles have no causes, there is an end of all law and order: neither can religious obligations be justified nor will food be the cause of repletion and clothes the cause of warmth. Accordingly, to regard actions as being caused is Unification (*tawhid*), and to rebut this is Nullification (*ta'til*). He who asserts it is proving the existence of contemplation, and he who denies it is denying the existence of contemplation. Does not training (*riyadat*) alter the animal qualities of a wild horse and substitute human qualities in their stead, so that he will pick up a whip from the ground and give it to his master, or will roll a ball with his foot? In the same way, a boy without sense and of foreign race is taught by training to speak Arabic, and take a new language in exchange for his mother tongue; and a savage beast is trained to go away when leave is given to it, and to come back when it is called, preferring captivity to freedom.[8] Therefore, Sahl and his followers argue, mortification is just as necessary for the attainment of union with God as diction and composition are necessary for the elucidation of ideas; and as one is led to knowledge of the Creator by assurance that the universe was created in time, so one is led to union with God by knowledge and mortification of the lower soul.

I will now state the arguments of the opposing party. They maintain that the verse of the Quran (xxix,69) cited by Sahl is a *hystron proteron*, and that the meaning of it is,

"Those whom We guide into Our ways strive to the utmost for Our sake." And the Apostle said: "Not one of you shall be saved by his works." "O Apostle," they cried, "not even thou?" "Not even I," he said, "unless God encompass me with His mercy." Now, mortification is a man's act, and his act cannot possibly become the cause of his salvation, which depends on the Divine Will, as God hath said: "Whomsoever God wishes to lead aright, He will open his breast to receive Islam, but whomsoever He wishes to lead astray, He will make his breast strait and narrow" (Qur.vi,125). By affirming His will, He denies the (effect of the) religious ordinances which have been laid upon mankind. If mortification were the cause of union Iblis would not have been damned, or if neglect of moritification were the cause of damnation Adam would never have been blessed. The result hangs on predestined grace (*'inayat*), not on abundance of mortification. It is not the case that he who most exerts himself is the most secure, but that he who has most grace is nearest to God. A monk worshippping in his cell may be far from God, and a sinner in the tavern may be near to Him. The noblest thing in the world is the faith of a child who is not subject to the religious law (*mukallaf*) and in this respect belongs to the same category as madmen: if, then, mortification is not the cause of the noblest of all gifts, no cause is necessary for anything that is inferior.

I, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, say that the difference between the two parties in this controversy lies in expression (*'ibarat*). One says, "He who seeks shall find," and the other says, "He who finds shall seek." Seeking is the cause of finding, but it is no less true that finding is the cause of seeking. The one party practises mortification for the purpose of attaining contemplation, and the other party practises contemplation for the purpose of attaining mortification. The fact is that mortification stands in the

same relation to contemplation as Divine blessing (*tawfiq*), which is a gift from God, to obedience (*ta'at*): as it is absurd to seek obedience without Divine blessing, so it is absurd to seek Divine blessing without obedience, and as there can be no mortification without contemplation, so there can be no contemplation without mortification. Man is guided to mortification by a flash of the Divine Beauty, and inasmuch as that flash is the cause of the existence of mortification, Divine guidance (*hidayat*) precedes mortification.

Now, as regards the argument of Sahl and his followers that failure to affirm mortification involves the denial of all the religious ordinances which have come down in the books revealed to the Prophets, this statement requires correction Religious obligations (*taklif*) depend on Divine guidance (*hidayat*), and acts of mortification only serve to affirm the proofs of God, not to effect real union with Him. God has said: "And though We had sent down the angels unto them and the dead had spoken unto them and We had gathered before them all things together, they would not have believed unless God had so-willed" (Qur.vi,III), for the cause of belief is Our will, not evidences or mortification. Accordingly, the revelations of the Prophets and the ordinances of religion are a means (*asbab*) of attaining to union, but are not the cause (*illat*) of union. So far as religious obligations are concerned, Abu Bakr was in the same position as Abu Jahl, but Abu Bakr, having justice and grace, attained, whereas Abu Jahl, having justice without grace, failed. Therefore the cause of attainment is attainment itself, not the act of seeking attainment, for if the seeker were one with the object sought the seeker would be one, and in that case he would not be a seeker, because he who has attained is at rest, which the seeker cannot be.

Again, in reference to their argument that the qualities of a horse are altered by mortification, you must know that mortification is only a means of bringing out qualities that are already latent in the horse but do not appear until he has been trained. Mortification will never turn a donkey into a horse or a horse into a donkey, because this involves a change of identity; and since mortification has not the power of transforming identity it cannot possibly be affirmed in the presence of God.

Over that spiritual director, namely, Sahl, there used to pass a mortification of which he was independent and which, while he was in the reality thereof, he was unable to express in words. He was not like some who have made it their religion to talk about mortification without practising it. How absurd that what ought to consist wholly in action should become nothing but words! In short, the Sufis are unanimous in recognizing the existence of mortification and discipline, but hold that it is wrong to pay regard to them. Those who deny mortification do not mean to deny its reality, but only to deny that any regard should be paid to it or that anyone should be pleased with his own actions in the place of holiness, inasmuch as mortification is the act of Man, while contemplation is a state in which one is kept by God, and a man's actions do not begin to have value until God keeps him thus. The mortification of those whom God loves is the work of God in them without choice on their part: it overwhelms and melts them away; but the mortification of ignorant men is the work of themselves in themselves by their own choice: it perturbs and distresses them, and distress is due to evil. Therefore, do not speak of thine own actions while thou canst avoid it, and never in any circumstances follow thy lower soul, for it is thy phenomenal being that veils thee from God. If thou wert veiled by one act alone, thou mightest be unveiled by another, but since thy whole being is a veil thou wilt not

become worthy of subsistence (*baqa*) until thou art wholly annihilated. It is related in a well-known anecdote that Husayn b. Mansur (al-Hallaj) came to Kufa and lodged in the house of Muhammad b. al-Husayn al-'Alawi. Ibrahim Khawwas also came to Kufa, and, having heard of al-Hallaj, went to see him. Al-Hallaj said: "O Ibrahim, during these forty years of your connexion with Sufi'ism, what have you gained from it?" Ibrahim answered: "I have made the doctrine of trust in God (*tawakkul*) peculiarly my own." Al-Hallaj said: "You have wasted your life in cultivating your spiritual nature: what has become of annihilation in Unification (*al-fana fi'l-tawhid*)?" i.e. "trust in God is a term denoting your conduct towards God and your spiritual excellence in regard to relying on Him: if a man spends his whole life in remedying his spiritual nature, he will need another life for remedying his material nature, and his life will be lost before he has found a trace or vestige of God". And a story is told of Shaykh Abu 'Ali Siyah of Merv, that he said: "I saw my lower soul in a form resembling my own, and some one had seized it by its hair and gave it into my hands. I bound it to a tree and was about to destroy it, when it cried out, 'O Abu 'Ali, do not trouble yourself. I am God's army (*lashkar-i khudayam*): you cannot reduce me to naught." And it is related concerning Muhammad b. 'Ulyan of Nasa, an eminent companion of Junayd, that he said: "In my novitiate, when I had become aware of the corruptions of the lower soul and acquainted with its places of ambush, I always felt a violent hatred of it in my heart. One day something like a young fox came forth from my throat, and God caused me to know that it was my lower soul. I cast it under my feet, and at every kick that I gave it, it grew bigger. I said: 'Other things are destroyed by pain and blows: why dost thou increase?' it replied: 'Because I was created perverse: that which is pain to other things is pleasure to me, and their pleasure is my pain," Shaykh Abu 'l-'Abbas Shaqani, who was the Imam of his time, said:

"One day I came into my house and found a yellow dog lying there, asleep. Thinking it had come in from the street, I was about to turn it out. It crept under my skirt and vanished" Shaykh Abu 'l-Qasim Gurgani, who today is the Qutb - may God prolong his life! - relates, speaking of his novitiate, that he saw his lower soul in the shape of a mouse. 'Who art thou?' I asked. It answered: 'I am the destruction of the heedless, for I urge them to evil, and the salvation of those who love God, for if I were not with them in my corruption they would be puffed up with pride in their purity."

All these stories prove that the lower soul is a real substance (*'ayni*), not a mere attribute, and that it has attributes which we clearly perceive. The Apostle said: "Thy worst enemy is thy lower soul, which is between thy two sides." When you have obtained knowledge of it you recognize that it can be mastered by discipline, but that its essence and substance do not perish. If it is rightly known and under control, the seeker need not care though it continues to exist in him. Hence the purpose of mortifying the lower soul is to destroy its attributes, not to annihilate its reality. Now I will discuss the true nature of passion and the renunciation of lusts.

Discourse on the true nature of Passion (hawa)

You must know that, according to the opinion of some, passion is a term applied to the attributes of the lower soul, but, according to others, a term denoting the natural volition (*iradat-i tab'*) whereby the lower soul is controlled and directed, just as the spirit is controlled by the intelligence. Every spirit that is devoid of the faculty of intelligence is imperfect, and similarly every lower soul that is devoid of the faculty of passion is imperfect. Man is continually being called by intelligence and passion into

contrary ways. If he obeys the call of intelligence he attains to faith, but if he obeys the call of passion he arrives at error and infidelity. Therefore passion is a veil and a false guide, and man is commanded to resist it. Passion is of two kinds: (1) desire of pleasure and lust, and (2) desire of worldly honour and atuthority. He who follows pleasure and lust haunts taverns, and mankind are safe from his mischief, but he who desires honour and authority lives in cells (*sawami'*) and monasteries, and not only has lost the right way himself but also leads others into error. One whose every act depends on passion, and who finds satisfaction in following it, is far from God although he be with you in a mosque; but one who has renounced and abandoned it is near to God although he be in a church. Ibrahim Khawwas relates this anecdote: "Once I heard that in Rum there was a monk who had been seventy years in a monastery. I said to myself: 'Wonderful! Forty years is the term of monastic vows: what is the state of this man that he has remained there for seventy years?' I went to see him. When I approached, he opened a window and said to me: 'O Ibrahim, I know why you have come. I have not stayed here for seventy years because of monastic vows, but I have a dog foul with passion, and I have taken my abode in this monastery for the purpose of guarding the dog (*sagbani*), and preventing it from doing harm to others.' On hearing him say this I exclaimed: 'O Lord, Thou art able to bestow righteousness on a man even though he be involved in sheer error.' He said to me: 'O Ibrahim, how long will you seek men? Go and seek yourself, and when you have found yourself keep keep watch over yourself, for this passion clothes itself every day in three hundred and sixty diverse garments of Godhead and leads men astry.'"

In short, the devil cannot enter a man's heart until he desires to commit a sin: but when a certain quantity of passion appears, the devil takes it and decks it out and

displays it to the man's heart; and this is called diabolic suggestion (*waswas*). It begins from passion, and in reference to this fact God said to Iblis when he threatened to seduce all mankind: "Verily, thou hast no power over My servants" (Qur. xv,42) for the devil in reality is a man's lower soul and passion. Hence the Apostle said: "There is no one whom his devil (i.e. his passion) has not subdued except 'Umar, for he has subdued his devil." Passion is mingled as an ingredient in the clay of Adam; whoever renounces it becomes a prince and whoever follows it becomes a captive. Junayd was asked: "What is union with God?" He replied: "To renounce passion," for of all the acts of devotion by which God's favour is sought none has greater value than resistance to passion, because it is easier for a man to destroy a mountain with his nails than to resist passion. I have read in the Anecdotes that Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian said: "I saw a man flying through the air, and asked him how he had attained to this degree. He answered: 'I set my feet on passion (*hawa*) in order that I might ascend into the air (*hawa*).'" It is related that Muhammad b. Fadl al-Balkhi said: "I marvel at one who goes with his passion into God's House and visits Him: why does not he trample on his passion that he may attain to Him?"

The most manifest attribute of the lower soul is lust (*shahwat*). Lust is a thing that is dispersed in different parts of the human body, and is served by the senses. Man is bound to guard all his members from it, and he shall be questioned concerning the acts of each. The lust of the eye is sight, that of the ear is hearing, that of the nose is smell, that of the tongue is speech, that of the palate is taste, that of the body (*jasad*) is touch, and that of the mind is thought (*andishidan*). It behoves the seeker of God to spend his whole life, day and night, in ridding himself of these incitements to passion which show themselves through the senses, and to pray God to make him such that this desire

will be removed from his inward nature, since whoever is afflicted with lust is veiled from all spiritual things. If anyone should repel it by his own exertions, his task would be long and painful. The right way is resignation (taslim). It is related that Abu 'Ali Siyah of Merv said: "I had gone to the bath and in accordance with the custom of the Prophet I was using a razor (*pubis tondendae causa*). I said to myself: 'O Abu 'Ali, amputate this member which is the source of all lusts and keep thee afflicted with so much evil.' A voice in my heart whispered: 'OAbu Ali, wilt thou interfere in My kingdom? Are not all thy limbs equally at My disposal? If thou do this, I swear by My glory that I will put a hundredfold lust and passion in every hair in that place.'"

Although a man has no power over what is vicious in his constitution, he can get au attribute changed by Divine aid and by resigning himself to God's will and by divesting himself of his own power and strength. In reality, when he resigns himself, God protects him; and through God's protection he comes nearer to annihilating the evil than he does through self-mortification, since flies are more easily driven away with an umbrella (*mikanna*) than with a fly-whisk (*midhabba*). Unless Divine protection is predestined to a man, he cannot abstain from anything by his own exertion, and unless God exerts Himself towards a man, that man's exertion is of no use. All acts of exertion fall under two heads: their object is either to avert the predestination of God or to acquire something in spite of predestination; and both these objects are impossible. It is related that when Shibli was ill, the physician advised him to be abstinent. "From what shall I abstain?" said he, "from that which God bestows upon me, or from that which He does not bestow? It is impossible to abstain from the former, and the latter is not in my hands" I will discuss this question carefully on another occasion.

7. THE HAKIMIS

They are the follows of Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi, who was one of the religious leaders of his time and the author of many works on every branch of exoteric and esoteric science. His doctrine was based on saintship (*wilayat*), and he used to explain the true nature of saintship and the degrees of the saints and the observance of the proper arrangement of their ranks.

As the first step towards understanding his doctrine, you must know that God has saints (*awliya*), whom He has chosen out of mankind, and whose thoughts He has withdrawn from worldly ties and delivered from sensual temptations; and He has stationed each of them in a particular degree, and has opened unto them the door of these mysteries. Much might be said on this topic, but I must briefly set froth several points of capital importance.

Discourse on the Affirmation of Saintship (*wilayat*)

You must know that the principle and foundation of Sufi'ism and knowledge of God rests on saintship, the reality of which is unanimously affirmed by all the Shaykhs, though every one has expressed himself in different language. The peculiarity of Muhammad b. 'Ali (al-Hakim) lies in the fact that he applied this term to the theory of Sufi'ism.

Walayat means, etymologically, "power to dispose" (*tasarruf*), and *wilayat* means "possession of command" (*imarat*). Walayat also means "lordship" (*rububiyyat*); hence God hath said: "In this case the lordship (al-walayat) belongs to God who is the Truth" (Qur.xviii,42), because

the unbelievers seek His protection and turn unto Him and renounce their idols. And *wilayat* also means "love" (*mahabbat*). Wali may be the form Fa'il with the meaning of Maf'ul, as God hath said: "And He takes charge of (*yatawalla*) the righteous" (Qur.vii,195), for God does not leave His servant to his own actions and attributes, but keeps him under His protection. And wali may be the form fa'il, equivalent to fa'il, with an intensive force, because a man takes care (*tawalli kunad*) to obey God and constantly to fulfil the obligations that he owes to Him. Thus wali in the active meaning is "one who desires" (*murid*), while in the passive meaning it denotes "one who is the object of God's desires" (*murad*). All these meanings, whether they signify the relation of God to Man or that of Man to God, are allowable, for God may be the protector of His friends, inasmuch as He promised His protection to the Companions of the Apostle, and declared that the unbelievers had no protector (*mawla*).[9] And, moreover, He may distinguish them in an exclusive way by His friendship, as He hath said, "He loves them and they love Him" (Qur.v,59), so that they turn away from the favour of mankind: He is their friend (*wali*) and they are His friends (*awliya*). And He may confer on one a "friendship" (*wilayat*) that enables him to persevere in obedience to Him, and keeps him free from sin, and on another a "friendship" that empowers him to loose and bind, and makes his prayers answered and his aspirations effectual, as the Apostle said: "There is many a one with dirty hair, dust-stained, clad in two old garments, whom men never heed; but if he were to swear by God, God would verify his oath." It is well known that in the Caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khattab, the Nile, in accordance with its usual habit, ceased to flow; for in the time of Paganism they used annually to adorn a maiden and throw her into the river to make it flow again. 'Umar therefore wrote on a piece of paper: "O river, if thou hast stopped of thy own will, thou doest wrong, and

if by command of God, 'Umar bids thee flow." When this paper was thrown in, the Nile resumed its course.

My purpose in discussing saintship and affirming its reality is to show you that the name of saint (*wali*) is properly applied to those in whom the above mentioned qualities are actually present (*hal*) and not merely reputed (*qal*). Certain Shaykhs formerly composed books on this subject, but they became rare and soon disappeared. Now I will commend to you the explanation given by that venerable spiritual director who is the author of the doctrine -- for my own belief in it is greater -- in order that much instruction may be gained, not only by yourself, but also by every seeker of Sufi'ism who may have the good fortune to read this book.

SECTION

You must know that the word *wali* is current among the vulgar, and is to be found in the Quran and the Apostolic Traditions: e.g., God hath said, "Verily, on the friends (*awliya*) of God no fear shall come, and they shall not grieve" (Qur.x,63); and again, "God is the friend (wali) of those who believe" (Qur.ii,258). And the Apostle said: "Among the servants of God there are some whom the prophets and martyrs deem happy." He was asked: "Who are they? Describe them to us that perchance we may love them." He replied: "Those who love one another, through God's mercy, without wealth and without seeking a livelihood: their faces are luminous, and they sit on thrones of light; they are not afraid when men are afraid, nor do they grieve when men grieve" Then he recited: "Verily, on the friends of God no fear shall come, and they shall not grieve" (Qur.x,63). Furthermore, the Apostle said that God said: "He who hurts a saint (*wali*) has allowed himself to make war on Me."

These passages show that God has saints (*awliya*) whom He has specially distinguished by His friendship and whom He has chosen to be the governors of His kingdom and has marked out to manifest His actions and has peculiarly favoured with diverse kinds of miracles (*karamat*) and has purged of natural corruptions and has delivered from subjection to their lower soul and passion, so that all their thoughts are of Him and their intimacy is with Him alone. Such have been in past ages, and are now, and shall be hereafter until the Day of Resurrection, because God has exalted this (Muslim) community above all others and has promised to preserve the religion of Muhammad. Inasmuch as the traditional and intelectual proofs of this religion are to be found among the divines (*'ulama*), it follows that the visible proof is to be found among the Saints and elect of God. Here we have two parties opposed to us, namely, the Mu'tazilites and the rank and file of the Anthropomorphists (*Hashwiyya*). The Mu'tazilites deny that one Muslim is specially privileged more than another; but if a saint is not specially privileged, neither is a prophet specially privileged; and this is infidelity. The vulgar Anthropomorphists allow that special privileges may be conferred, but assert that such privileged persons no longer exist, although they did exist in the past. It is all the same, however, whether they deny the past or the future, since one side of denial is no better than another.

God, then, has caused the prophetic evidence (*burhan-i nabawi*) to remain down to the present day, and has made the Saints the means whereby it is manifested, in order that the signs of the Truth and the proof of Muhammad's veracity may continue to be clearly seen. He has made the Saints the governors, of the universe; they have become entirely devoted to His business, and have ceased to follow their sensual affections. Through the blessing of their

advent the rain falls from heaven, and through the purity of their lives the plants spring up from the earth, and through their spiritual influence the Muslims gain victories over the unbelievers. Among them there are four thousand who are concealed and do not know one another and are not aware of the excellence of their state, but in all circumstances are hidden from themselves and from mankind. Traditions have come down to this effect, and the sayings of the Saints proclaim the truth thereof, and I myself -- God be praised! - have had ocular experience (*khabar-i 'iyan*) of this matter. But of those who have power to loose and to bind and are the officers of the Divine court there are three hundred, called *Akhyar*, and forty, called Abdal, and seven, called *Abrar*, and four, called *Awtad*, and three, called *Nuqaba*, and one, called *Qutb* or *Ghawth*. All these know one another and cannot act save by mutual consent.

Here the vulgar may object to my assertion that they know one another to be saints, on the ground that, if such is the case, they must be secure as to their fate in the next world. I reply that it is absurd to suppose that knowledge of saintship involves security. A believer may have knowledge of his faith and yet not be secure: why should not the same hold good to a saint who has knowledge of his saintship? Nevertheless, if is possible that God should miraculously cause the saint to know his security in regard to the future life, while maintaining him in a state of spiritual soundness and preserving him from disobedience. The Shaykhs differ on this question for the reason which I have explained. Those belonging to the four thousand who are concealed do not admit that the saint can know himself to be such, whereas those of the other class take the contrary view. Each opinion is supported by many lawyers and scholastics. Abu Ishaq Isfaraini[10] and some of the ancients hold that a saint is ignorant of his saintship, while Abu Bakr b. Furak[11] and others of the past generation hold

that he is conscious of it. I ask the former party, what loss or evil does a saint suffer by knowing himself. If they allege that he is conceited when he knows himself to be a saint, I answer that Divine protection is a necessary condition of saintship, and one who is protected from evil cannot fall into self-conceit. It is a very common notion (*sukhan-i sakht 'amiyana*) that a saint, to whom extraordinary miracles (*karamat*) are continually vouchsafed, does not know himself to be a saint or these miracles to be miracles. Both parties have adherents among the common people, but opinion is of no account.

The Mu'tazilites, however, deny special privileges and miracles, which constitute the essence of saintship. They affirm that all Moslims are friends (*awliya*) of God when they are obedient to Him, and that anyone who fulfils the ordinances of the Faith and denies the attributes and vision of God and allows believers to be eternally damned in Hell and acknowledges only such obligations as are imposed by Reason, without regard to Revelation, is a "friend" (*wali*). All Muslims agree that such a person is a "friend", but a friend of the Devil. The Mu'tazilites also maintain that, if saintship involved miracles, all believers must have miracles vouchsafed to them, because they all share in faith (*iman*), and if they share in what is fundamental they must likewise share in what is derivative. They say, further, that miracles may be vouchsafed both to believers and to infidels, e.g. when anyone is hungry or fatigued on a journey some person may appear in order to give him food or mount him on an animal for riding. If it were possible, they add, for anyone to traverse a great distance in one night, the Apostle must have been that man; yet, when he set out for Makkah, God said, "And they (the animals) carry your burdens to a land which ye would not have reached save with sore trouble to yourselves" (Qur.xvi,7). I reply: "Your arguments are worthless, for God said, 'Glory

to Him who transported His servant by night from the Sacred Mosque to the farther Mosque'" (Qur.xvii,1). Miracles are special, not general; but it would have been a general instance if all the Companions had been miraculously conveyed to Makkah, and this would have destroyed all the principles of faith in the unseen. Faith is a general term, applicable to the righteous and the wicked alike, whereas saintship is special. The journey of the Companions to Makkah falls under the former category, but inasmuch as the case of the Apostle was a special one, God conveyed him in one night from Makkah to Jerusalem, and thence to a space of two bow-lengths from the Divine presence; and he returned ere the night was far spent. Again, to deny special privileges is manifestly unreasonable. As in a palace there are chamberlains, janitors, grooms, and viziers, who, although they are equally the king's servants, are not equal in rank, so all believers are equal in respect of their faith, but some are obedient, some wise, some pious, and some ignorant.

SECTION

The Shaykhs, every one, have given hints as to the true meaning of saintship. Now I will bring together as many of these selected definitions as possible.

Abu Ali Juzajani says: "The saint is annihilated in his own state and subsistent in the contemplation of the Truth: he cannot tell anything concerning himself, nor can he rest with anyone except God," because a man has knowledge only of his own state, and when all his states are annihilated he cannot tell anything about himself; and he cannot rest with anyone else, to whom he might tell his state, because to communicate one's hidden state to another is to reveal the secret of the Beloved, which cannot be revealed except to the Beloved himself. Moreover, in

contemplation it is impossible to regard aught except God: how, then, can he be at rest with mankind? Junayd said: "The saint hath no fear, because fear is the expectation either of some future calamity or of the eventual loss of some object of desire, whereas the saint is the son of his time (*ibne waqtihi*): he has no future that he should fear anything; and as he hath no fear so he hath no hope, since hope is the expectation either of gaining an object of desire or of being relieved from a misfortune, and this belongs to future; nor does he grieve, because grief arises from the rigour of time. and how should he feel grief who is in the radiance of satisfaction (*rida*) and the garden of concord (*muwafaqat*)?" The vulgar imagine this saying to imply that, inasmuch as the saint feels neither fear nor hope nor grief, he has security (*amn*) in their place; but he has not security, for security arises from not seeing that which is hidden, and from turning one's back on "time"; and this (absence of secuiryt) is characteristic of those who pay no regard to their humanity (*bashariyyat*) and are not content with attributes. Fear and hope and security and grief all refer to the interests of the lower soul, and when that is annihilated satisfaction (*rida*) becomes an attribute of Man, and when satisfaction has been attained his states become steadfast (*mustaqim*) in vision of the Author of states (*muhawwil*), and his back is turned on all states. Then saintship is revealed to his heart and its meaning is made clear to his inmost thoughts. Abu Uthman Maghribi says: "The saint is sometimes celebrated (*mashhur*), but he is not seduced (*maftun*)," and another says: "The saint is sometimes hidden (*mastur*), but he is not celebrated." Seduction consists in falsehood: inasmuch as the saint must be veracious, and miracles cannot possibly be performed by a liar, it follows that the saint is incapable of being seduced. These two sayings refer to the controversy whether the saint knows himself to be such: if he knows, he is celebrated, and if he does not know, he is seduced; but the

explanation of this is tedious. It is related that Ibrahim b. Adham asked a certain man whether he desired to be one of God's saints, and on his replying "Yes", said: "Do not covet anything in this world or the next, and devote thyself entirely to God, and turn to God with all heart. To covet this world is to turn away from God for the sake of that which is transitory, and to covet the next world is to turn away from God for the sake of that which is everlasting: that which is transitory perishes and its renunciation becomes naught, but that which is everlasting cannot perish, hence its renunciation also is imprishable. Abu Yazid was asked: "Who is a saint?" He answered: "That one who is patient under the command and prohibition of God," because the more a man loves God the more does his heart revere what He commands and the farther is his body from what He forbids. It is related that Abu Yazid said: "Oncc I was told that a saint of God was in such and such a town. I set out to visit him. When I arrived at his mosque he came forth from his chamber and spat on the floor of the mosque. I turned back without saluting him, and said to myself: 'A saint must keep the religious law in order that God may keep him in his spiritual state. Had this man been a saint his respect for the mosque would have prevented him from spitting on its floor, or God would have preserved him from marring the grace vouchsafed to him.' The same night I dreamed that the Apostle said to me, 'O Abu Yazid, the blessing of that which thou hast done is come to thee.' Next day I attained to this degree which ye behold." And I have heard that a man who came to visit Shaykh Abu Said entered the mosque with his left foot foremost. The Shaykh gave orders that he should be dismissed, saying: "He who does not know how to enter the house of the Friend is not suitable for us." Some heretics who have adopted this perilous doctrine assert that service of God (*khidmat*) is necessary only while one is becoming a saint, but that after one has become a saint service is abolished. This is clearly

wrong. There is no "station" on the way to the Truth where any obligation of service is abolished. I will explain this matter fully in its proper place.

Discourse on the Affirmation of Miracles (*karamat*)

You must know that miracles may be vouchsafed to a saint so long as he does not infringe the obligations of the religious law. Both parties of the orthodox Muslims agree on this point, nor is it intellectually impossible, because such miracles are a species of that which is predestined by God, and their manifestation does not contradict any principle of the religious law, nor, on the other hand, is it repugnant to the mind to conceive them as a *genus*. A miracle is a token of a saint's veracity, and it cannot be manifested to an impostor except as a sign that his pretensions are false. It is an extraordinary act (*fi'li naqid-i adat*), performed while he is still subject to the obligations of religion; and whoever is able, through knowledge given to him by God, to distinguish by the method of deduction what is true from what is false, he too is a saint. Some Sunnis maintain that miracles are established, but not to the degree of an evidentiary miracle (*mu'jizah*[12]): they do not admit, for example, that prayers may be answered and fulfilled, and so forth, contrary to custom. I ask in reply: "What do you consider wrong in the performance by a true saint, while he is subject to religious obligations, of an act which violates custom?" If they say that it is not a species of that which is predestined by God, this statement is erroneous; and if they say that it is a species of that which is predestined, but that its performance by a true saint involves the annulment of prophecy and the denial of special privileges to the prophets, this assertion also is inadmissible, since the saint is specially distinguished by miracles (*karamat*) and the prophet by evidentiary miracles (*mu'jizah*); and inasmuch as the saint is a saint and the

prophet is a prophet, there is no likeness between them to justify such precaution.The pre-eminence of the prophets depends on their exalted rank and on their being preserved from the defilement of sin, not on miracles or evidentiary miracles or acts which violate custom. All the prophets are equal so far as they all have the power of working such miracles (*i'jaz*), but some are superior to others in degree. Since, then, notwithstanding this equality in regard to their actions, some prophets are superior to others, why should not miracles (*karamat*) which violate custom be vouchsafed also to the saints, although the prophets are superior to them? And since, in the case of the prophets, an act which violates custom does not cause one of them to be more exalted or more specially privileged than another, so, in the case of the saints, a similar act does not cause a saint to be more specially privileged than a prophet, i.e. the saints do not become like in kind (*hamsan*) to the prophets. This proof will clear away, for reasonable men, any difficulties that this matter may have presented to them. "But suppose," it may be said, "that a saint whose miracles violate custom should claim to be a prophet." I reply that this is impossible, because saintship involves veracity, and he who tells a falsehood is no saint. Moreover, a saint who pretends to prophesy casts an aimputation on (the genuineness of) evidentiary miracles, which is infidelity. Miracles (*karamat*) are vouchsafed only to a pious believer, and falsehood is impiety. That being so, the miracles of the saint confirm the evidence of the prophet. There is no difficulty in reconciling the two classes of miracles. The apostle establishes his prophecy by establishing the reality of evidentiary miracles, while the saint, by the miracles which he performs, establishes both the prophecy of the apostle and his own saintship. therefore, the veracious saint says the same theing as the veracious prophet. The miracles of the former are identical with the evidentiary miracles of the latter. A believer, seeing the miracles of a saint, has

more faith in the veracity of the prophet, not more doubt, because there is no contradiction between the claims made by them. Similarly, in law, when a number of heirs are agreed in their claim, if one of them establishes his claim the claim of the others is established; but not so if their claims are contradictory. Hence, when a prophet adduces evidentiary miracles as evidence that his prophecy is genuine, and when his claim is confirmed by a saint, it is impossible that any difficulty should arise.

Discourse on the difference between Evidentiary Miracles (*mu'jizah*) and Miracles (*karamat*)

Inasmuch as it has been shown that neither class of miracles can be wrought by an impostor, we must now distinguish more clearly between them, *Mu'jizah* involve publicity and *karamat* secrecy, because the result of the former is to affect others, while the latter are peculiar to the person by whom they are performed. Again, the doer of *mu'jizah* is quite sure that he has wrought an extraordinary miracle, whereas the doer of *karamat* cannot be sure whether he has really wrought a miracle or whether he is insensibly deceived (*istidraj*). He who performs *mu'jizah* has authority over the law, and in arranging it he denies or affirms, according as God commands him, that he is insensibly deceived.[13] On the other hand, he who performs *karamat* has no choice but to resign himself (to God's will) and to accept the ordinances that are laid upon him, because the *karamat* of a saint are never in any way incompatible with the law laid down by a prophet. It may be said: "If evidentiary miracles are the proof of a prophet's veracity, and if nevertheless you assert that miracles of the same kind may be performed by one who is not a prophet, then they become ordinary events (*mu'tad*): therefore your proof of the reality of *mu'jizah* annuals your argument establishing the reality of *karamat*." I reply: "This is not the

cae. The *karamat* of a saint is identical with, and displays the same evidence as, the *mu'jizah* of a prophet: the quality of i'jaz (*inimitability*) exhibited in the one instance does not impair the same quality in the other instance." When the infidels put *Khubayb* on the gallows at Makkah, the Apostle, who was then seated in the mosque at Madinah, saw him and told the Companions what was being done to him. God also lifted the veil from the eyes of *Khubayb*, so that he saw the Apostle and cried, "Peace be with thee!" and God caused the Apostle to hear his salutation, and caused *Khubayb* to hear the Apostle's answer. Now, the fact that *Khubayb* at Makkah saw the Apostle at Madinah was likewise an extraordinary act. Accordingly there is no difference between absence in time and absence in space; for *Khubayb's* miracle (*karamat*) was wrought when he was absent from the Apostle in space, and the miracles of later days were wrought by those who were absent from the Apostle in time. This is a clear dictinction and a manifest proof that *karamat* cannot possibly be in contradiction with *i'jaz* (miracles performed by a prophet). *Karamat* are not established unless they bear testimony to the truth of one who has performed a *mu'jizah*, and they are not vouchsafed except to a pious believer who bears such testimony. Karamat of Muslims are an extraordinary miracle (mu'jizah) of the Apostle, for as his law is permanent so must his proof (*hujjat*) also be permanent. The saints are witnesses to the truth of the Apostle's mission, and it is impossible that a miracle (*karamat*) should be wrought by an unbeliever (*begana*).

On this topic a story is related of Ibrahim Khawwas, which is very apposite here. Ibrahim said: "I went down into the desert in my usual state of detachment from worldly things (*tajrid*). After I had gone some distance a man appeared and begged me to let him be my companion. I looked at him and was conscious of a feeling of

repugnance. He said to me: 'O Ibrahim, do not be vexed. I am a Christian, and one of the Sabians among them. I have come from the confines of Rum in the hope of being thy companion.' When I knew that he was an unbeliever, I regained my equanimity, and felt it more easy to take him as my companion and to fulfil my obligations towards him. I said: 'O monk, I fear that thou wilt suffer from want of meat and drink, for I have nothing with me.' 'O Ibrahim, ' said he, is thy fame in the world so great, and art thou still concerned about meat and drink? I marvelled at his boldness and accepted him as my companion in order to test his claim. After journeying seven days and nights we were overtaken by thirst. He stopped and cried: 'O Ibrahim, they trumpet thy praise throughout the world. Now let me see what privileges of intimacy (*gustakhiha*) thou hast in this court (i.e. to what extent thou art a favourite with God), for I can endure no more.' I laid my head on the earth and cried: 'O Lord, do not shame me before this unbeliever, who thinks well of me!' When I raised my head I saw a dish on which were placed two loaves of bread and two cups of water. We ate and drank and went on our way. After seven days had passed I resolved to test him ere he should again put me to the proof. 'O monk,' I said, 'now it is thy turn. Let me see the fruits of thy mortification.' He laid his head on the earth and muttered something. Immediately a dish appeared containing four loaves and four cups of water. I was amazed and grieved, and I despaired of my state. 'This has appeared,' I said, 'for the sake of an unbeliever: how can I eat or drink thereof' He bade me taste, but I refused, saying, 'Thou art not worthy of this, and it is not in harmony with thy spiritual condition. If I regard it as a miracle (*karamat*), miracles are not vouchsafed to unbelievers; and if I regard it as a contribution (ma'unat) from thee, I must suspect thee of being an impostor.' He said: 'Taste, O Ibrahim! I give thee joy of two things: firstly, of my conversion to Islam (here he uttered the

profession of faith), and secondly, of the great honour in which thou art held by God.' 'How so? I asked. He answered: 'I have no miraculous powers, but my shame on account of thee made me lay my head on the earth and beg God to give me two loaves, and two cups of water if the religion of Muhammad is true, and two more loaves and cups if Ibrahim Khawwas is one of God's saints.'" Then Ibrahim ate and drank, and the man who had been a monk rose to eminence in Islam.

Now, this violation of custom, although attached to the *karamat* of a saint, is identical with the evidentiary miracles which are wrought by prophets, but it is rare that in a prophet's absence an evidence should be vouchsafed to another person, or that in the presence of a saint some portion of his miraculous powers hould be transferred to another person. In fact, the end of saintship is only the beginning of prophecy. That monk was one of the hidden (*saints*), like Pharaoh's magicians. Ibrahim confirmed the Prophet's power to violate custom, and his companion also was endeavouring both to confirm prophecy and to glorify saintship; a purpose which God in His eternal providence fulfilled. This is a clear difference between *karamat* and i'jaz. The manifestation of miracles to the saints is a second miracle, for they ought to be kept secret, not intentionally divulged. My Shaykh used to say that if a saint reveals his saintship and claims to be a saint, the soundness of his spiritual state is not impaired thereby, but if he takes pains to obtain publicity he is led astray by self conceit.

Discourse on the performance of miracles belonging to the evidentiary class by those who pretend to Godship.

The Shaykhs of this sect and all orthodox Muslims are agreed that an extraordinary act resembling a prophetic miracle (*mu'jizah*) may be performed by an unbeliever, in

order that by means of his performance he may be shown beyond doubt to be an impostor. Thus, for example, Pharaoh lived four hundred years without once falling ill; and when he climbed up to any high ground the water followed him, and stopped when he stopped, and moved when he moved. Nevertheless, intelligent men did not hesitate to deny his pretensions to Godship, inasmuch as every intelligent person acknowledges that God is not incarnate (*mujassam*) and composite (*murakkab*). You will judge by analogy the wondrous acts related of Shaddad, who was the lord of Iram, and Nimrod. Similarly, we are told on trustworthy authority that in the last days *Dajjal* will come and will claim Godship, and that two mountains will go with him, one on his right hand and the other on his left; and that the mountain on his right hand will be the place of felicity, and the mountain on his left hand will be the place of torment; and that he will call the people to himself and will punish those who refuse to join him. But though he should perform a hundredfold amount of such extraordinary acts, no intelligent person would doubt the falsity of his claim, for it is well known that God does not sit on an ass and is not blind. Such things fall under the principle of fivine deception (istidraj). So, again, one who falsely pretends to be an apostle may perform an extraordinary act, which proves him an impostor, just as a similar act performed by a true apostle proves him genuine. But no such act can be performed if there be any possibility of doubt or any difficulty in distinguishing the true claimant from the impostor, for in that case the principle of allegiance (*bay'at*) would be nullified. It is possible, moreover, that something of the same kind as a miracle (*karamat*) may be performed by a pretender to saintship who, although his conduct is bad, is blameless in his religion, inasmuch as by that miraculous act he confirms the truth of the Apostle and manifests the grace of God vouchsafed to him and does not attribute the act in question

to his own power. One who speaks the truth, without evidence, in the fundamental matter of faith (iman), will always speak the truth, with evidence and firm belief, in the matter of saintship, because his belief is of the same quality as thc belief of the saint; and though his actions do not square with his belief, his claim of saintship is not demonstrably contradicted by his evil conduct, any more than his claim of faith could be. In fact, miracles (*karamat*) and saintship are Divine gifts, not things acquired by Man, so that human actions (*kasb*) cannot become the cause of Divine guidance.

I have already said that the saints are not preserved from sin (*ma'sum*), for sinlessness belongs to the prophets, but they are protected (*mahfuz*) from any evil that involves the denial of their saintship: and the denial of saintship, after it has come into being, depends on something inconsistent with faith, namely, apostasy (*riddat*): it does not depend on sin. This is the doctrine of Muhammad b. 'Ali Hakim of Tirmidh, and also of Junayd, Abu 'l-Hasan Nuri, Harith Muhasibi, and many other mystics (ahl-i haqa'iq). But those who attach imprtance to conduct (ahl-i mu'amalat), like Sahl b. 'Abdullah of Tustar, Abu Sulayman Darani, Hamdun Qassar, and others, maintain that saintship involves unceasing obedience (*ta'at*), and that when a great sin (*kabira*) occurs to the mind of a saint he is deposed from his saintship. Now, as I have stated before, there is a consensus of opinion (*ijma*) among Muslims that a great sin does not put anyone outside the pale of faith; and one saintship (*wilayat*) is no better than another. Therefore, since the saintship of knowledge of God (*ma'rifat*), which is the foundation of all miracles vouchsafed by Divine grace (*karamatha*), is not lost through sin, it is impossible that what is inferior to that in excellence and grace (*karamat*) should disappear because

of sin. The controversy among the Shaykhs on this matter has run to great length,`and I do not intend to record it here.

It is most important, however, that you should know with certainty in what state this miraculous grace is manifested to the saint: in sobriety or intoxication, in rapture (*ghalabat*) or composure (*tamkin*). I have fully explained the meaning of intoxication and sobriety in my account of the doctrine of Abu Yazid. He and Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian and Muhammad b. Khafif and Husayn b. Mansur (al-Hallaj) and Yahya b. Mu'adh Razi and others hold that miracles are not vouchsafed to a saint except when he is in the state of intoxication, whereas the miracles of the prophets are wrought in the state of sobriety. Hence, according to their doctrine, this is a clear distinction between *mu'jizah* and *karamat*, for the saint, being enraptured, pays no heed to the people and does not call upon them to follow him, while the prophet, being sober, exerts himself to attain his object and challenges the people to rival what he has done. Moreover, the prophet may choose whether he will manifest or conceal his extraordinary powers, but the saints have no such choice; sometimes a miracle is not granted to them when they desire it, and sometimes it is bestowed when they do not desire it, for the saint has no propaganda, so that his attributes should be subsistent, but he is hidden and his proper state is to have his attributes annihilated. The prophet is a man of law (*sahib shar*), and the saint is a man of inward feeling (sahib sirr). Accordingly, a miracle (*karamat*) will not be manifested to a saint unless he is in a state of absence from himself and bewilderment, and unless his faculties are entirely under the control of God. While saints are with themselves and maintain the state of humanity (*bashariyyat*), they are veiled; but when the veil is lifted they are bewildered and amazed though realizing the bounties of God. A miracle cannot be manifested

except in the state of unveiledness (*kashf*), which is the rank of proximity (*qurb*); and whoever is in that state, to him worthless stones appear even as gold. This is the state of intoxication with which no human being, the prophets alone excepted, is permanently endowed. Thus, one day, Haritha was transported from this world and had the next world revealed to him; he said: "I have cut myself loose from this world, so that its stones and its gold and its silver and its clay are all one to me." Next day he was seen tending asses, and on being asked what he was doing, he said: "I am trying to get the food that I need." Therefore, the saints, while they are sober, are as ordinary men, but while they are intoxicated their rank is the same as that of the prophets, and the whole universe becomes like gold unto them. Shibli says :--

"Gold wherever we go, and pearls
Wherever we turn, and silver in the waste."

I have heard the Master and Imam Abu 'l-Qasim Qushayri say: "Once I asked Tabarani about the beginning of his spritual experience. He told me that on one occasion he wanted a stone from the river-bed at Sarakhs. Every stone that he touched turned into a gem, and he threw them all away." This was because stones and gems were the same to him, or rather, gems were of less value, since he had no desire for them. And I have heard Khwaja Imam Khazaini at Sarakhs relate as follows: "In my boyhood I went to a certain place to get mulberry leaves for silkworms. When it was midday I climbed a tree and began to shake the branches. While I was thus employed Shaykh Abu 'l-Fadl b. al-Hasan passed by, but he did not see me, and I had not doubt that he was beside himself and that his heart was with God. Suddenly he raised his head and cried with the boldness of intimacy: 'O Lord, it is more than a year since Thou hast given me a small piece of silver

(*dangi*) that I might have my hair cut. Is this the way to treat Thy friends?' No sooner had he spoken than I saw all the leaves and boughs and roots of the trees turned to gold. Abu 'l-Fadl exclaimed: 'How strange! The least hint that I utter is a backsliding (*hama tarid-i ma irad ast*). One cannot say a word to Thee for the sake of relieving one's mind.'" It is related that Shibli cast four hundred dinars into the Tigris. When asked what he was doing, he replied: "Stones are better in the water." "But why,": they said, "don't you give the money to the poor?" He answered: "Glory to God! what plea can I urge before Him if I remove the veil from my own heart only to place it on the hearts of my brother Muslims? It is not religious to wish them worse than myself." All these cases belong to the state of intoxication, which I have already explained.

On the other hand, Junayd and Abu 'l-'Abbas Sayyari and Abu Bakr Wasiti and Muhammad b. 'Ali of Tirmidh, the author of the doctrine, hold that miracles are manifested in the state of sobriety and composure (*sahw u tamkin*), not in the state of intoxication. They argue that the saints of God are the governors of His kingdom and the overseers of the universe, which God has committed absolutely to their charge: therefore their judgements must be the soundest of all, and their hearts must be the most tenderly disposed of all towards the creatures of God. They are mature (rasidagan); and whereas agitation and intoxication are marks of inexperience, with maturity agitation is transmuted into composure. Then, and only then, is one a saint in reality, and only then are miracles genuine. It is well known among Sufis that every night the Awtad must go round the whole universe, and if there should be any place on which their eyes have not fallen, next day some imperfection will appear in that place; and they must then inform the *Qutb*, in order that he may fix his attention on the weak spot, and that by his blessing the imperfection

may be removed. As regards the assertion that gold and earth are one to the saint, this indifference is a sign of intoxication and failure to see truly. More excellent is the man of true sight and sound perception, to whom gold is gold and earth is earth, but who recognizes the evil of the former and says: "O yellow ore! O white ore! beguile some one else, for I am aware of your corruptedness." He who sees the corruptedness of gold and silver perceives them to be a veil (between himself and God), and God will reward him for having renounced them. Contrariwise, he to whom gold is even as earth is not made perfect by renouncing earth. *Haritha*, being intoxicated, declared that stones and gold were alike to him, but Abu Bakr, being sober, perceived the evil of laying hands on worldly wealth, and knew that God would reward him for rejecting it. Therefore he renounced it, and when the Apostle asked him what he had left for his family he answered, "God and His Apostle." And the following story is related by Abu Bakr Warraq of Tirmidh: "One day Muhammad b. 'Ali (al-Hakim) said that he would take me somewhere. I replied: 'It is for the Shaykh to command.' Soon after we set out I saw an exceedingly dreadful wilderness, and in the midst thereof a golden throne placed under a green tree beside a fountain of running water. Seated on the throne was a person clad in beautiful raiment, who rose when Muhammad b. 'Ali approached, and bade him sit on the throne. After a while, people came from every side until forty were gathered together. Then Muhammad b. 'Ali waved his hand, and immediately food appeared from heaven, and we ate. Afterwards Muhammad b. Ali asked a question of a man who was present, and he in reply made a long discourse of which I did not understand a single word. At last the Shaykh begged leave and took his departure, saying to me: 'Go, for thou art blest.' On our return to Tirmidh, I asked him what was that place and who was that man. He told me that the place was the Desert of the Isreaelites (tih-i Bani

Isra'il) and that the man was the Qutb on whom the order of the universe depends. 'O Shaykh,' I said, 'how did we reach the Desert of the Israelites from Tirmidh in such a brief time? He answered: 'O Abu Bakr, it is thy business to arrive (*rasidan*), not to ask questions (*pursidan*).'" This is a mark, not of intoxication, but of sanity.

Now I will mention some miracles and stories of the Sufis, and link thereto certain evidence which is to be found in the Book (the Quran).

Discourse concerning their Miracles

The reality of miracles having been established by logical argument, you must now become acquainted with the evidence of the Quran and the genuine Traditions of the Apostle. Both Quran and Tradition proclaim the reality of miracles and extraordinary acts wrought by saints. To deny this is to deny the authority of the sacred texts. One example is the text, "And We caused the clouds to overshadow you and the manna and the quails to descend upon you" (Qur.ii,54). If any sceptic should assert that this was an evidentiary miracle (*mu'jizah*) of Moses, I raise no objection, because all the miracles of the saints are an evidentiary miracle of Muhammad; and if he says that this miracle was wrought in the absence of Moses, although it occurred in his time, and that therefore it was not necessarily wrought by him, I reply that the same principle holds good in the case of Moses, when he quitted his people and went to Mount Sinai, as in the case of Muhammad; for there is no difference between being absent in time and being absent in space. We are also told of the miracle of Asaf b. Barkhiya, who brought the throne of Bilqis to Solomon in the twinkling of an eye (Qur.xxvii,40). This cannot have been a *mujizah*, for Asaf was not an apostle; had it been a *mujizah*, it must have been

wrought by Solomon: therefore it was a *karamat*. We are told also of Mary that whenever Zacharias went into her chamber he found winter fruits in summer and summer fruits in winter, so that he said: "'Whence hadst thou this?' She answered, 'It is from God'" (Qur.iii,32). Everyone admits that Mary was not an apostle. Furthermore, we have the story of the men of the cave (*ashab alkahf*), how their dog spoke to them, and how they slept and turned about in the cave (Qur.xviii,17). All these were extraordinary acts, and since they certainly were not a *mujizah*, they must have been a *karamat*. Such miracles (*karamat*) may be, for example, the answering of prayers through the accomplishment of wishes conceived by one who is subject to the religious law (*ba-husul-i umur-i mawhum andar zaman-i taklif*), or the traversing of great distances in a short time, or the appearance of food from an unaccustomed place, or power to read the thoughts of others, etc.

Among the genuine Traditions is the story of the cave (*hadith al-ghar*), which is told as follows. One day the Companions of the Apostle begged him to relate to them some marvellous tale of the ancient peoples. He said: "Once three persons were going to a certain place. At eventide they took shelter in a cave, and whil ethey were asleep a rock fell from the mountain and blocked the mouth of the cave. They said to one another, 'We shall never escape from here unless we make our disinterested actions plead for us before God.' So one of them began: 'I had a father and mother and I had no worldly goods except a goat, whose milk I used to give to them; and every day I used to gather a bundle of firewood and sell it and spend the money in providing food for them and myself. One night I came home rather late, and before I milked the goat and steeped their food in the milk they had fallen asleep. I kept the bowl in my hand and stood there, without having

eaten anything, until morning, when they awoke and ate; then I sat down.' 'O Lord' (he continued), 'if I speak the truth concerning this matter, send us deliverance and come to our aid!'" The Apostle said: "thereupon the rock moved a little and a crevice appeared. The next man said: 'There was a beautiful blind girl, with whom I was deeply in love, but she would not listen to my suit. I managed to send to her a hundred a twenty dinars with a promise that she should keep the money if she would be mine for one night. When she came the fear of God seized my heart. I turned from her and let her keep the money.' He added, 'O God, if I speak the turth, deliver us!" The Apostle said: "Then the rock moved a little further and the crevice widened, but they could not yet go forth. The third man said: 'I had some labourers working for me. When the work was done they all received their wages except one, who disappeared. With his wages I bought a sheep. Next year there were two, and in the year after that there were four, and they soon became a large flock. After several years the labourer returned and asked me for his wages. I said to him, "Go and take all these sheep; they are your property." He thought I must be mocking him, but I assured him that it was true, and he went off with the whole flock.' The narrator added, 'O Lord, if I speak the truth, deliver us!'" "He had scarcely finished," said the Apostle, "when the rock moved away from the mouth of the cave and let the three men come forth."[14] It is is related that Abu Said Kharraz said: "For a long time I used to eat only once in three days. I was journeying in the desert, and on the third day I felt weak through hunger. A voice from heaven cried to me, Dost thou prefer food that will quiet thy lower nature, or an expedient that will enable thee to overcome thy weakness without food?' I replied, 'O God, give me strength!' Then I rose and travelled twelve stages without meat or drink." It is well known that at the present day the house of Sahl b. ʿAbdullah at Tustar is called the House of the Wild Beasts (*bayt al-sibu*), and the

people of Tustar are agreed that many wild beasts used to come to him, and that he fed and tended them. Abu 'l-Qasim of Merv tells the following story: "As I was walking on the seashore with Abu Said Kharraz, I saw a youth clad in a patched frock and carrying a bucket (*rakwa*), to which an ink-bottle was fastened. Kharraz said: 'When I look at this youth he seems to be one of the adepts (*rasidagan*), but when I look at his ink-bottle I think he is a student. Let me question him.' So he accosted the youth and said, 'What is the way to God?' The youth answered: 'There are two ways to God: the way of the vulgar and the way of the elect. Thou hast no knowledge of the latter, but the way of the vulgar, which thou pursuest, is to regard thine own actions as the cause of attaining to God, and to suppose that an ink-bottle is one of the things that interfere with attainment.'" Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian says: "Once I embarked in a ship voyaging from Egypt to Jaddah. Among the passengers was a youth wearing a patched frock. I was eager to be his companion, but he inspired me with such awe that I did not venture to address him, for his spiritual state was very exalted and he was constantly engaged in devotion. One day a certain man lost a purse of jewels, and suspicion fell on this youth. They were about to maltreat him, but I said, 'Let me question him courteously.' I told him that he was suspected of theft and that I had saved him from maltreatment. 'And now,' I said, 'what is to be done?' He looked towards Heaven and spoke a few words. The fishes came to the surface of the sea, each with a jewel in its mouth. He took a jewel and gave it to his accuser; then he set his foot on the water and walked away. Thereupon the real thief dropped the purse, and the people in the ship repented." Ibrahim Raqqi[15] is related to have said: "In my novitiate I set out to visit Muslim Maghribi. I found him in his mosque, acting as precentor. He pronounced al-Hamd incorrectly. I said to myself, 'My trouble has been wasted.' Next day, when I was going to the bank of the Euphrates to

perform the religious ablution, I saw a lion asleep on the road. I turned back, and was faced by another lion which had been following me. Hearing my cry of despair, Muslim came forth from his cell. When the lions saw him they humbled themselves before him. He took the ear of each one and rubbed it, saying, 'O dogs of God, have not I told you that you must not interfere with my guests?' Then he said to me: 'O Abu Ishaq, thou hast busied thyself with correcting thy exterior for the sake of God's creatures, hence thou art afraid of them; but it has been my business to correct my interior for God's sake, hence His creatures are afraid of me.'" One day my Shaykh set out from Bayt al-Jinn to Damascus. Heavy rain had begun to fall, and I was walking with difficulty in the mire. I noticed that the Shaykh's shoes and clothes were perfectly dry. On my pointing this out to him, he said: "Yes; God has preserved me from mud ever since I put unquestioning trust in Him and guarded my interior from the desolation of cupidity." Once an experience occurred to me which I could not unravel. I set out to visit Shaykh Abu 'l-Qasim Gurgani at Tus. I found him alone in his chamber in the mosque, and he was expounding precisely the same difficulty to a pillar, so that I was answered without having asked the question. "O Shaykh,:" I cried, "to whom art thou saying this?" He replied: "O son, God just now caused this pillar to speak and ask me this question." In Farghana, at a village called Ashlatak,[16] there was an old man, one of the Awtad of the earth. His name was Bab 'Umar[17] -- all the dervishes in that country give the title of Bab to their great Shaykhs - and he had an old wife called *Fatima*. I went from Uzkand to see him. When I entered his presence he said: "Why have you come?" I replied: "In order that I might see the Shaykh in person and that he might look on me with kindness." He said: "I have been seeing you continually since such and such a day, and I wish to see you as long as you are not removed from my sight." I computed the day and year: it

was the very day on which my conversion began. The Shaykh said: "To traverse distance (*sipardan-i masafat*) is child's play: henceforth pay visits by means of thought (*himmat*); it is not worth while to visit any person (*shakhs*), and there is no virtue in bodily presence (*hudur-i ashbah*)." Then he bade Fatima bring something to eat. She brought a dish of new grapes, although it was not the season for them, and some fresh ripe dates, which cannot possibly be procured in Farghana. On another occasion, while I was sitting alone, as is my custom, beside the tomb of Shaykh Abu Said at Mihna, I saw a white pigeon fly under the cloth (*futa*) covering the sepulchre. I supposed that the bird had escaped from its owner, but when I lookd under the cloth nothing was to be seen. This happened again next day, and also on the third day. I was at a loss to understand it, until one night I dreamed of the saint and asked him about my experience. He answered: "That pigeon is my good conduct (*safa-yi muamalat*), which comes every day to my tomb to feast with me (*ba-munadamat-i man*)."[18] I might adduce many more of these tales without exhausting them, but my purpose in this book is to establish the principles of Sufi'ism. As regards derivatives and matters of conduct books have been compiled by the traditionists (*naqqalan*), and these topics are disseminated from the pulpit by preachers (*mudhakkiran*). Now I will give, in one or two sections, an adequate account of certain points bearing on the present discussion, in order that I may not have to return to it again.

Discourse on the Superiority of the Prophets to the Saints

You must know that, by universal consent of the Sufi Shaykhs, the saints are at all times and in all circumstances subordinate to the prophets, whose missions they confirm.

The prophets are superior to the saints, because the end of saintship is only the beginning of prophecy. Every prophet is a saint, but some saints are not prophets. The prophets are constantly exempt from the attributes of humanity, while the saints are so only temporarily; the fleeting state (*hal*) of the saint is the permanent station (*maqam*) of the prophet; and that which to the saints is a station (*maqam*) is to the prophets a veil (*hijab*) This view is held unanimously by the Sunni divines and the Sufi mystics, but it is opposed by a sect of the Hashwiyya - the Anthropomorphists (*mujassima*) of Khurasan - who discourse in a self-contradictory manner concerning the principles of Unification (*tawhid*), and who, although they do not know the fundamental doctrine of Sufi'ism, call themselves saints. Saints they are indeed, but saints of the Devil. They maintain that the saints are superior to the prophets, and it is a sufficient proof of their error that they declare an ignoramus to be more excellent than Muhammad, the Chosen of God. The same vicious opinion is held by another sect of Anthropomorphists (*mushabbiha*), who pretend to be Sufis, and admit the doctrines of the incarnation of God and His descent (into the human body) by transmigration (*intiqal*), and the division (*tajziya*) of His essence. I will treat fully of these matters when I give my promised account of the two reprobated sects (of Sufis). The sects to which I am now referring claim to be Muslims, but they agree with the Brahmans in denying special privileges to the prophets; and whoever believes in this doctrine becomes an infidel. Moreover, the prophets are propagandists and Imams, and the saints are their followers, and it is absurd to suppose that the follower of an Imam is superior to the Imam himself. In short, the lives, experiences, and spiritual powers of all the saints together appear as nothing compared with one act of a true prophet, because the saints are seekers and pilgrims, whereas the prophets have arrived and have found and have returned

with the command to preach and to convert the people. If any one of the above mentioned heretics should urge that an ambassador sent by a king is usually inferior to the person to whom he is sent, as e.g. Gabriel is inferior to the Apostles, and that this is against my argument, I reply that an ambassador sent to a single person should be inferior to him, but when an ambassador is sent to a large number of persons or to a people, he is superior to them, as the Apostles are superior to the nations. Therefore one moment of the prophets is better than the whole life of the saints, because when the saints reach their goal they tell of contemplation (*mushahadah*) and obtain release from the veil of humanity (*bashariyyat*), although they are essentially men. On the other hand, contemplation is the first step of the apostle; and since the apostle's starting place is the saint's goal, they cannot be judged by the same standard. Do not you perceive that, according to the unanimous opinion of all the saints who seek God, the stationof union (*jam'*) belongs to the perfection of saintship? Now, in this station, a man attains such a degree of repturous love that his intelligence is enraptured in gazing upon the act of God (*fil*), and in his longing for the Divine Agent (*fail*) he regards the whole universe as that and sees nothing but that. Thus Abu 'Ali Rudbari says: "Were the vision of that which we serve to vanish from us, we should lose the name of servantship (*'ubudiyyat*)," for we derive the glory of worship (*'ibadat*) solely from vision of Him. This is the beginning of the state of the prophets, inasmuch as separation (*tafriqa*) is inconceivable in relation to them. They are entirely in the essence of union, whether they affirm or deny, whether they approach or turn away, whether they are at the beginning or at the end. Abraham, in the beginning of the his state, looked on the sun and said: "This is my Lord," and he looked on the moon and stars and said: "This is my Lord" (Qur.vi,76-8), because his heart was overwhelmed by the Truth and he was united in the

essence of union. Therefore he saw naught else, or if he saw aught else he did not see it with the eye of "otherness" (*ghayr*), but with the eye of union (*jam*), and in the reality of that vision he disavowed his own and said: "I love not those that set" (Qur.vi,76). As he began with union, so he ended with union. Saintship has a beginning and an end, but prophecy has not. The prophets were prophets from the first, and shall be to the last, and before they existed they were prophets in the knowledge and will of God. Abu Yazid was asked about the state of the prophets. He replied: "Far be it from me to say! We have no power to judge of them, and in our notions of them we are wholly ourselves. God has placed their denial and affirmation in such an exalted degree that human vision cannot reach unto it." Accordingly, as the rank of the saints is hidden from the perception of mankind, so the rank of the prophets is hidden from the judgement of the saints. Abu Yazid was the proof (*hujjat*) of his age, and he says: "I saw that my spirit (*sirr*) was borne to the heavens. It looked at nothing and gave no heed, though Paradise and Hell were displayed to it, for it was freed from phenomena and veils. Then I became a bird, whose body was of Oneness and whose wings were of Everlastingness, and I continued to fly in the air of the Absolute (*huwiyyat*), until I passed into the sphere of Purification (*tanzih*), and gazd upon the field of Eternity (*azaliyyat*) and beheld there the tree of Oneness. When I looked I myself was all those. I cried: 'O Lord, with my egoism (*mani-yi man*) I cannot attain to Thee, and I cannot escape from my selfhood. What am I to do?' God spake: 'O Abu Yazid, thou must win release from thy "thou-ness" by following My beloved i.e. (Muhammad). Smear thine eyes with the dust of his feet and follow him continually.'" This is a long narrative. The Sufis call it the Ascension (*mi'raj*) of Bayazid;[19] and the term "ascension" denotes proximity to God (*qurb*). The ascension of prophets takes place outwardly and in the body, whereas that of saints takes

place inwardly and in the spirit. The body of an apostle resembles the heart and spirit of a saint in purity and nearness to God. This is a manifest superiority. When a saint is enraptured and intoxicated he is withdrawn from himself by means of a spiritual ladder and brought near to God; and as soon as he returnes to the state of sobriety all those evidences have taken shape in his mind and he has gained knowledge of them. Accordingly, there is a great difference between one who is carried thither in person and one who is carried thither only in thought (*fikrat*), for thought involves duality.

Discourse on the Superiority of the Prophets and Saints to the Angels

The whole community of orthodox Muslims and all the Sufi Shaykhs agree that the prophets and such of the saints as are guarded from sin (*mahfuz*) are superior to the angels. The opposite view is held by the Mu'tazilites, who declare that the angels are superior to the prophets, being of more exalted rank, of more subtle consitution, and more obedient to God. I reply that this is not as you imagine, for an obedient body, an exalted rank, and a subtle constitution cannot be causes of superiority, which belongs only to those on whom God has bestowed it. Iblis had all the qualities that you mention, yet he is universally acknowledged to have become accursed. The superiority of the prophets is indicated by the fact that God commanded the angels to worship Adam; for the state of one who is worshipped is higher than the state of the worshipper. If they argue that, just as a true believer is superior to the Ka'bahh, an inanimate mass of stone, although he bows down before it, so the angels may be superior to Adam, although they bowed down before him, I reply: "No one says that a believer bows down to a house or an altar or a wall, but all say that he bows down to God, and it is

admitted by all that the angels bowed down to Adam (Qur.ii,32). How, then, can the Ka'bah be compared to Adam? A traveller may worship God on the back of the animal which he is riding, and he is excused if his face be not turned towards the Ka'bah; and, in like manner, one who has lost his bearings in a desert, so that he cannot tell the direction of the Ka'bah, will have done his duty in whatever direction he may turn to pray. The angels offered no excuse when they bowed down to Adam, and the one who made an excuse for himself became accursed." These are clear proofs to any person of insight.

Again, the angels are equal to the prophets in knowledge of God, but not in rank. The angels are without lust, covetousness, and evil; their nature is devoid of hypocrisy and guile, and they are instinctively obedient to God; whereas lust is an impediment in human nature; and men have a propensity to commit sins and to be impressed by the vanities of this world; and Satan has so much power over their bodies that he circulates with the blood in their veins; and closely attached to them is the lower soul (*nafs*), which incites them to all manner of wickedness. Therefore, one whose nature has all these characteristics and who, in spite of the violence of his lust, refrains from immorality, and notwithstanding his covetousness renounces this world, and, though his heart is still tempted by the Devil, turns back from sin a averts his face from sensual depravity in order to occupy himself with devotion and persevere in piety and mortify his lower soul and contend against the Devil, such a one is in reality superior to the angel who is not the battlefield of lust, and is naturally without desire of food and pleasures, and has no care for wife and child and kinsfolk, and need not have recourse to means and instruments, and is not absorbed in corrupt ambitions. A Gabriel, who worships God so many thousands of years in the hope of gaining a robe of honour, and the honour

bestowed on him was that of acting as Muhammad's groom on the night of the Ascension -- how should he be superior to one who disciplines and mortifies his lower soul by day and night in this world, until God looks on him with favour and grants to him the grace of seeing Himself and delivers him from all distracting thoughts? When the pride of the angels passed all bounds, and every one of them vaunted the purity of his conduct and spoke with an unbridled tongue in blame of mankind, God resolved that He would show to them their real state. He therefore bade them choose three of the chief among them, in whom they had confidence, to go to the earth and be its governors and reform its people. So three angels were chosen, but before they came to the earth one of them perceived its corruption and begged God to let him return. When the other two arrived on the earth God changed their nature so that they felt a desire for food and drink and were inclined to lust, and God punished them on that account, and the angels were forced to recognize the superiority of mankind to themselves.[20] In short, the elect among the true believers are superior to the elect among the angels, and the ordinary believers are superior to the ordinary angels. Accordingly those men who are preserved (*ma'sum*) and protected (*mahfuz*) from sin are more excellent than Gabriel and Michael, and those who are not thus preserved are better than the Recording Angels (*hafaza*) and the noble Scribes (*kiram-i katibin*).

Something has been said on this subject by every one of the Shaykhs. God awards superiority to whom He pleases, over whom He pleases. You must know that saintship is a Divine mystery which is revealed only through conduct (*rawish*). A saint is known only to a saint. If this matter could be made plain to all reasonable men it would be impossible to distinguish the friend from the foe or the spiritual adept from the careless worldling. Therefore

God so willed that the pearl of His love should be set in the shell of popular contempt and be cast into the sea of affliction, in order that those who seek it may hazard their lives on account of its preciousness and dive to the bottom of this ocean of death, where they will either win their desire or bring their mortal state to an end.

8. THE KHARRAZIS

They are the followers of Abu Said Kharraz, who wrote brilliant works on Sufi'ism and attained a high degree in detachment from the world. He was the first to explain the state of annihilation and subsistence (*fana u baqa*), and he comprehended his whole doctrine in these two terms. Now I will declare their meaning and show the errors into which some have fallen in this respect, in order that you may know what his doctrine is and what the Sufis intend when they employ these current expressions.

Discourse on Subsistence (baqa) and Annihilation (fana).

You must know that annihilation and subsistence have one meaning in science and another meaning in mysticism, and that formalists (*zahiriyan*) are more puzzled by these words than by any other technical terms of the Sufis. Subsistence in its scientific and etymological acceptation is of three kinds: (1) a subsistence that begins and ends in annihilation, e.g.this world, which had a beginning and will have an end, and is now subsistent; (2) a subsistence that came into being and will never be annihilated,viz. Paradise and Hell and the next world and its inhabitants; (3) a subsistence that always was and always will be, viz. the subsistence of God and His eternal attributes. Accordingly, knowledge of annihilation lies in your knowing that this

world is perishable, and knowledge of subsistence lies in your knowledge that the next world is everlasting.

But the subsistence and annihilation of a state (*hal*) denotes, for example, that when ignorance is annihilated knowledge is necessarily subsistent, and that when sin is annihilated piety is subsistent, and that when a man acquires knowledge of his piety his forgetfulness (*ghaflat*) is annihilated by remembrance of God (*dhikr*), i.e. when anyone gains knowledge of God and becomes subsistent in knowledge of Him he is annihilated from (entirely loses) ignorance of Him, and when he is annihilated from forgetfulness he becomes subsistent in remembrance of Him, and this involves the discarding of blameworthy attributes and the substitution of praiseworthy attributes. A different signification, however, is attached to the terms in question by the elect among the Sufis. They do not refer these expressions to "knowledge" (*ilm*) or to "state" (*hal*), but apply them solely to the degree of perfection attained by the saints who have become free from the pains of mortification and have escaped from the prison of "stations" and the vicissitude of "states", and whose search has ended in discovery, so that they have seen all things visible, and have heard all things audible, and have discovered all the secrets of the heart; and who, recognizing the imperfection of their own discovery, have turned away from all things and have purposely become annihilated in the object of desire, and in the very essence of desire have lost all desires of their own, for when a man becomes annihilated from his attributes he attains to perfect subsistence, he is neither near nor far, neither stranger nor intimate, neither sober nor intoxicated, neither separated nor united; he has no name, or sign, or brand, or mark.

In short, real annihilation from anything involves consciousness of its imprfection and absence of desire for

it, not merely that a man should say, when he likes a thing, "I am subsistent therein," or when he dislikes it, that he should say, "I am annihilated therefrom"; for these qualities are characteristic of one who is still seeking. In annihilation there is no love or hate, and in subsistence there is no consciousness of union or separation. Some wrongly imagine that annihilation signifies loss of essence and destruction of personality, and that subsistence indicates the subsistence of God in Man; both these notions are absurd. In India I had a dispute on this subject with a man who claimed to be versed in Quranic exegesis and theology. When I examined his pretensions I found that he knew nothing of annihilation and subsistence, and that he could not distinguish the eternal from the phenomenal. Many ignorant Sufis consider that total annihilation (*fana-yi kulliyyat*) is possible, but this is a manifest error, for annihilation of the different parts of a material substance (*tinati*) can never take place. I ask these ignorant and mistaken men: "What do you mean by this kind of annihilation?" If they answer, "Annihilation of substance" (*fana-yi 'ayn*), that is impossible; and if they answer, "Annihilation of attributes," that is only possible in so far as one attribute may be annihilated through the subsistence of another attribute, both attributes belonging to Man; but it is absurd to suppose that anyone can subsist through the attributes of another individual. The Nestorians of Rum and the Christians hold that Mary annihilated by self-mortification all the attributes of humanity (*awsaf-i nasuti*) and that the Divine subsistence became attached to her, so that she was made subsistent through the subsistence of God, and that Jesus was the result thereof, and that he was not originally composed of the stuff of humanity, because his subsistence is produced by realization of the subsistence of God; and that, in consequence of this, he and his mother and God are all subsistent through one subsistence, which is eternal and an attribute of God. All this agrees with the

doctrine of the anthropomorphistic sects of the *Hashwiyya*, who maintain that the Divine essence is a locus of phenomena (*mahall-i hawadith*) and that the Eternal may have phenomenal attributes. I ask all who proclaim such tenets: "What difference is there between the view that the Eternal is the *locus* of the phenomenal and the view that the pheonomenal is the *locus* of the Eternal, or between the assertion that the Eternal has phenomenal attributes and the assertion that the phenomenal has eternal attributes?" Such doctrines involve materialism (*dahr*) and destroy the proof of the phenomenal nature of the universe, and compel us to say that both the Creator and His creation are eternal or that both are pheonomenal, or that what is created may be commingled with what is uncreated, and that what is uncreated may descend into what is created. If, as they cannot help admitting, the creation is phenomenal, then their Creator also must be phenomenal, because the locus of a thing is like its substance; if the locus (*mahall*) is phenomenal it follows that contents of the locus (*hal*) are phenomenal too. In fine, when one thing is linked and united and commingled with another, both things are in principle as one.

Accordingly, our subsistence and annihilation are attributes of ourselves, and resemble each other in respect of their being our attributes. Annihilation is the annihilation of one attribute through the subsistence of another attribute. One may speak, however, of an annihilation that is independent of subsistence, and also of a subsistence that is independent of annihilation: in that case annihilation means "annihilation of all remembrance of other", and subsistence means "subsistence of the remembrance of God" (*baqa-yi dhikr-i haqq*). Whoever is annihilated from his own will subsists in the will of God, because thy will is perishable and the will of God is everlasting: when thou standest by thine own will thou standest by annihilation, but when thou

art absolutely controlled by the will of God thou standest by subsistence. Similarly, the power of fire transmutes to its own quality anything that falls into it, and surely the power of God's will is greater than that of fire; but fire affects only the quality of iron without changing its substance, for iron can never become fire.

SECTION

All the Shaykhs have given subtle indications on this subject. Abu Said Kharraz, the author of the doctrine, says: "Annihilation is annihilation of consciousness of manhood (*'ubudiyyat*), and subsistence is subsistence in the contemplation of Godhead (*ilahiyyat*)," i.e., it is an imperfection to be conscious in one's actions that one is a man, and one attains to real manhood (*bandagi*) when one is not conscious of them, but is annihilated so as not to see them, and becomes subsistent through beholding the action of God. Hence all one's actions are referred to God, not to one's self, and whereas a man's actions that are connected with himself are imperfect, those which are attached to him by God are perfect. Therefore, when anyone becomes annihilated from things that depend on himself, he becomes subsistent through the beauty of Godhead. Abu Yaqub Nahrajuri says: "A man's true servantship (*'ubudiyyat*) lies in annihilation and subsistence," because no one is capable of serving God with sincerity until he renounces all self-interest: therefore to renounce humanity (*adamiyyat*) is annihilation, and to be sincere in servantship is subsistence. And Ibrahim b. Shayban says: "The science of annihilation and subsistence turns on sincerity (*ikhlas*) and unity (*wahidiyyat*) and true servantship; all else is error and heresy," i.e., when anyone acknowledges the unity of God he feels himself overpowered by the omnipotence of God, and one who is overpowered (*maghlub*) is annihilated in the might of his vanquisher; and when his annihilation is

rightly fulfilled on him, he confesses his weakness and sees no resource except to serve God, and tries to gain His satisfaction (*rida*). And whoever explains these terms otherwise,, i.e. annihilation as meaning "annihilation of substance" and subsistence as meaning "subsistence of God (in Man)", is a heretic and a Christian, as has been stated above.

Now I, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, declare that all these sayings are near to each other in meaning, although they differ in expression; and their real gist is this, that annihilation comes to a man through vision of the majesty of God and through the revelation of Divine omnipotence to his heart, so that in the overwhelming sense of His majesty this world and the next world are obliterated from his mind, and "states" and "stations" appear contemptible in the sight of his aspiring thought, and what is shown to him of miraculous grace vanishes into nothing: he becomes dead to reason and passion alike, dead even to annihilation itself; and in that annihiltion of annihilation his tongue proclaims God, and his mind and body are humble and abased, as in the beginning when Adam's posterity were drawn forth from his loins without admixture of evil and took the pledge of servantship to God (Qur.vii,171)

Such are the principles of annihilation and subsistence. I have discussed a portion of the subject in the chapter on Poverty and Sufi'ism, and wherever these terms occur in the present work they bear the meaning which I have explained.

9. THE KHAFIFIS

They are the followers of Abu ʻAbdullah Muhammad b. Khafif of Shiraz, an eminent mystic in his time and the author of celebrated treatises on various branches of Sufi'ism. He was a man of great spiritual influence, and

was not led by his lusts. I have heard that he contracted four hundred marriages. This was due to the fact that he was of royal descent, and that after his conversion the people of Shiraz paid great court to him, and the daughters of kings and nobles desired to marry him for the sake of the blessing which would accrue to them. He used to comply with their wishes, and then divorce them before consummation of the marriage. But in the course of his life forty wives, who were strangers to him (*begana*), two or three at a time, used to serve him as bed-makers (*khadiman-i firash*), and one of them -- she was the daughter of a vizier - lived with him for forty years. I have heard from Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Bakran of Shiraz that one day several of his wives were gathered together, and each one was telling some story about him. The all agreed *sese nunquam eum vidisse libidini obsequentem*. Hitherto each of them had believed that she was peculiarly treated in this respect, and when they learned that the Shaykh's behaviour was the same towards them all, they were astonished and doubted whether such was truly the case. Accordingly, they sent two of their number to question the vizier's daughter, who was his favourite, as to his dealings with her. She replied: "When the Shaykh wedded me and I was informed that he would visit me that night, I prepared a fine repast and adorned myself assiduously. As soon as he came and the food was brought in, he called me to him and looked for a while first at me and then at the food. Then he took my hand and drew it into his sleeve. From his breast to his navel there were fifteen knots (*'aqd*) growing out of his belly. He said, 'Ask me what these are'; so I asked him and he replied, They are knots made by the tribulation and anguish of my abstinence in renouncing a face like this a viands like these.' He said no more, but departed; and that is all my intimacy with him."

The form of his doctrine in Sufi'ism is "absence" (*ghaybat*) and "presence" (*hudur*). I will explain it as far as possible.

Discourse on Absence (*ghaybat*) and Presence (*hudur*)

These terms, although apparently opposed to each other, express the same meaning from different points of view. "Presence" is "Presence of the heart", as a proof of intuitive faith (*yaqin*), so that what is hidden from it has the same force as what is visible to it. :"Absence" is "absence of the heart from all things except God" to such an extent that it becomes absent from itself and absent even from its absence, so that it no longer regards itself; and the sign of this state is withdrawal from all formal authority (*hukm-i rusum*), as when a prophet is divinely preserved from what is unlawful. Accordingly, absence from one's self is presence with God, and *vice versa*. God is the lord of the human heart: when a divine rapture (*jadhbah*) overpowers the heart of the seeker, the absence of his heart becomes equivalent to its presence (with God); partnership (shirkat) and division (*qismat*) disappear, and relationship to self comes to an end, as one of the Shaykhs has said in verse :--

"Thou art the Lord of my heart,
Without any partner: how, then, can it be divided?"

Inasmuch as God is sole Lord of the heart, He has absolute power to keep it absent or present as He will, and, in regard to the essence of the case, this is the whole argument for the doctrine of His favourites; but when a distinction is made, the Shaykhs hold various opinions on the subject, some preferring "presence" to "absence", while others declare that "absence" is superior to "presence". There is the same controversy as that concerning sobriety

and intoxication, which I have explained above; but these terms indicate that the human attributes are still subsistent, whereas "absence" and "presence" indicate that the human attributes arc annihilated: therefore the latter terms are in reality more sublimc. "Absence" is preferred to "presence" by Ibn 'Ata, Husayn b. Mansur (al-Hallaj), Abu Bakr Shibli, Bundar b. al-Husayn, Abu Hamza of Baghdad, Sumnun Muhibb, and a number of the Shaykhs of 'Iraq. They said: "Thou thyself art the greatest of all veils between thee and God: when thou hast become absent from thyself, the evils implicit in thy being are annihilated in thee, and thy statc undergoes a fundamental change: the 'station' of novices become a veil to thee, and the 'states' of those who seek God become a source of mischief to thee; thine eye is closed to thyself and to all that is other than God, and thy human attributes are consumed by the flame of proximity to God (qurbat). This is the same state of 'absence' in which God drew thee forth from the loins of Adam, and caused thee to hear His exalted word, and distinguishcd thee by the honorary robe of Unifcation and the garment of contemplation; so long as thou wert absent from thyself, thou wert present with God face to face, but when thou becamest present with thine own attributes, thou becamest absent from thy proximity to God. Therefore thy 'presence' is thy perdition. This is the meaning of God's word, 'And now are ye come unto us alone, as Wc created you at first' (Qur,vi,94). On the other hand, Harith Muhasibi, Junayd, Sahl b. Abdullah, Abu Ja'far Haddad, Hamdun Qassar, Abu Muhammad Jurayri, Husri, Muhammad b. Khafif, who is the author of the doctrine, and others hold that "presence" is superior to "absence". They argue that inasmuch as all excellences are bound up with "prescnce", and as "absence" from one's self is a way leading to "presence" with God, the way becomes an imperfection after you have arrived at the goal. "Presence" is the fruit of "absence"? A man must nceds renounce

heedlessness in order that, by means of this "absence", he may attain to "presence"; and when he has attained his object, the means by which he attained it has no longer any worth.

"The 'absent' one is not he who is absent from his country,
But he who is absent from all desire.
The 'present' one is not he who hath no desire,
But he who hath no heart (no thought of worldly things),
So that his desire is ever fixed on God."

It is a well-known story that one of the disciples of Dhu 'l-Nun set out to visit Abu Yazid. When he came to Abu Yazid's cell and knocked at the door Abu Yazid said: "Who art thou, and whom dost thou wish to see?" He answered: "Abu Yazid." Abu Yazid said: "Who is Abu Yazid, and where is he, and what thing is he? I have been seeking Abu Yazid for a long while, but I have not found him." When the disciple returned to Dhu 'l-Nun and told him what has passed, Dhu 'l-Nun said: "My brother Abu Yazid is lost with those who are lost in God." A certain man came to Junayd and said: "Be present with me for a moment that I may speak to thee." Junayd answered: "O young man, you demand of me something that I have long been seeking. For many years I have been wishing to become present with myself a moment, but I cannot; how, then, can I become present with you just now?" Therefore, "absence" involves the sorrow of being veiled, while "presence" involves the joy of revelation, and the former state can never be equal to the latter. Shaykh Abu Said says on this bubject :--

Taqashsha'a ghaymu 'l-hajri 'an qamari 'l-hubbi
Wa-asfara nuru 'l-subhi 'an zulmati 'l-ghaybi.

"The clouds of separation have been cleared away from the moon of love,

And the light of morning has shone forth from the darkness of the Unseen."

The distinction made by the Shaykhs between these two terms is mystical, and on the surface merely verbal, for they seem to be approximately the same. To be present with God is to be absent from one's self -- what is the difference? -- and one who is not absent from himself is not present with God. Thus, forasmuch as the impatience of Job in his affliction did not proceed from himself, but on the contrary he was then absent from himself, God did not distinguish his impatience from patience, and when he cried, "Evil hath befallen me" (Qur.xxi,83), God said, "Verily, he was patient." This is evidently a judgment founded on the essential nature of the case (*hukm ba-'ayn*). It is related that Junayd said: "For a time I was such that the inhabitants of heaven and earth wept over my bewilderment (*hayrat*); then, again, I became such that I wept over their absence (*ghaybat*); and now my state is such that I have no knowledge either of them or of myself." This is an excellent indication of "presence" and "absence" in order that you may be acquainted with the doctrine of the *Khafifis*, and may also know in what sense these terms are used by the Sufis.

10. THE SAYYARIS

They are the followers of Abu 'l-'Abbas Sayyari, the Imam of Merv. He was learned in all the sciences and associated with Abu Bakr Wasiti. At the present day he has numerous followers in Nasa and Merv. His school of

Sufi'ism is the only one that has kept its original doctrine unchanged, and the cause of this fact is that Nasa and Merv have never been without some person who acknowledged his authority and took care that his followers should maintain the doctrine of their founder. They Sayyaris of Nasa carried on a discussion with those of Merv by means of letters, and I have seen part of this correspondence at Merv; it is very fine. Their expositions are based on "union" (*jam'*) and "separation" (*tafriqa*). These words are common to all scientists and are employed by specialists in every branch of learning as a means of rendering their explanations intelligible, but they bear different meanings in each case. Thus, in arithmetic jam' denotes the addition and tafriqa the subtraction of numbers; in grammar jam' is the agreement of words in derivation, while tafriqa is the difference in meaning in law jam' is analogy (*qiyas*) and tafriqa the characteristics of an authoritative text (*sifat-i nuss*), or jam' is the text and *tafriqa* the analogy; in divinity jam denotes the essential and *tafriqa* the formal attributes of God.[21] But the Sufis do not use these terms in any of the significations which I have mentioned. Now, therefore, I will explain the meaning attached to them by the Sufis and the various opinions of the Shaykhs on this subject.

Discourse on Union (*jam'*) and Separation (*tafriqa*)

God united all mankind in His call, as He says, "And God calls to the abode of peace"; then He separated them in respect of Divine guidance, and said, "and guides whom He willeth into the right way" (Qur.x.26). He called them all, and banished some in accordance with the manifestation of His will; He united them all and gave a command, and then separated them, rejecting some and leaving them without succour, but accepting others and granting to them Divine aid; then once more he united a certain number and separated them, giving to some immunity from sin and to

others a propensity towards evil. Accordingly the real mystery of union is the knowledge and will of God, while separation is the manifestation of that which He commands and forbids: e.g., He commanded Abraham to behead Ishmael, but willed that he should not do so; and He commanded Iblis to worship Adam, but willed the contrary; and He commanded Adam not to eat the corn, but willed that he should eat it; and so forth. Union is that which He unites by His attributes, and separation is that which He separates by His acts. All this involves cessation of human volition and affirmation of the Divine will so as to exclude all personal initiative. As regards what has been said on the subject of union and separation, all the Sunnis, except the Mu'tazilites, are in agreement with the Sufi Shaykhs, but at this point they begin to diverge, some applying the terms in question to the Divine Unity (*tawhid*), some to the Divine attributes, and some to the Divine acts. Those who refer to the Divine Unity say that there are two degrees of union, one in the attributes of God and the other in the attributes of Man. The former is the mystery of Unification (*tawhid*), in which human actions have no part whatever; the latter denotes acknowledgement of the Divine Unity with sincere conviction and unfailing resolution. This is the opinion of Abu 'Ali Rudbari. Those, again, who refer these terms to the Divine attributes say that union is an attribute of God, and separation an act of God in which Man does not co-operate, because God has no rival in Godhead. Therefore union can be referred only to His substance and attributes, for union is equality in the fundamental matter (*al-taswiyat fi'l-asl*), and no two things are equal in respect of eternity except His substance and His attributes, which, when they are separated by expository analysis (*'ibarat u tafsil*), are not united. This means that God has eternal attributes, which are peculiar to Him and subsist through Him; and that He and His attributes are not two, for His Unity does

not admit difference and number. On this ground, union is impossible except in the sense indicated above.

Separation in predicament (*al-tafriqat fi'l-hukm*) refers to the actions of God, all of which are separate in this respect. The predicament of one is being (*wujud*); of another, not being (*'adam*), but a not being that is capable of being; of another, annihilation (*fana*), and of another subsistence (*baqa*). There are some, again, who refer these terms to knowledge (*'ilm*) and say that union is knowledge of the Divine Unity and separation knowledge of the Divine ordinances: hence theology is union and jurisprudence is separation. One of the Shaykhs has said, to the same effect: "Union is that on which theologians (*ahl al-ilm*) are agreed, and separation is that on which they differ." Again, all the Sufi mystics, whenever they use the term "separation" in the course of their expositions and indications, attach to it the meaning of "human actions" (*makasib*) e.g. self-mortification, and by "union" they signify "divine gifts" (*mawahib*), e.g. contemplation. Whatever is gained by means of mortification is "separation", and whatever is solely the result of Divine favour and guidance is "union". It is Man's glory that, while his actions exist and mortification is possible, he should escape by God's goodness from the imperfection of his own actions, and should find them to be absorbed in the bounties of God, so that he depends entirely on God and commits all his attributes to His charge and refers all his actions to Him and none to himself, as Gabriel told the Apostle that God said: "My servant continually seeks access to Me by means of works of supererogation until I love him; and when I love him, I am his ear and his eye and his hand and his heart and his tongue: through Me he hears and sees and speaks and grasps," i.e., in remembering Me he is enraptured by the remembrance (*dhikr*) of Me, and his own "acquisition" (*kasb*) is annihilated so as to have no part

in his remembrance, and so as to have no part in his remembrance, and My remembrance overpowers his remembrance, and the relationship of humanity (*adamiyyat*) is entirely removed from his remembrance: then My remembrance is his remembrance, and in his rapture he becomes even as Abu Yazid in the hour when he said: "Glory to me! how great is my majesty!" These words were the outward sign of his speech, but the speaker was God. Similarly, the Apostle said: "God speaks by the tongue of 'Umar". The fact is that when the Divine omnipotence manifests its dominion over humanity, it transports a man out of his own being, so that his speech becomes the speech of God. But it is impossible that God should be mingled (*imtizaj*) with created beings or made on (*ittihad*) with His works or become incarnate (hall) in things: God is exalted far above that, and far above that which the heretics ascribe to Him.

It may happen, then, that God's love holds absolute sway over the heart of His servant, and that his reason and natural faculties are too weak to sustain its rapture and intensity, and that he loses all control of his power to act (*kasb*). This state is called "union".[22] Herewith are connected all extraordinary miracles (*i'jaz*) and acts of miraculous grace (*karamat*). All ordinary actions are "separation", and all acts which violate custom are "union". God bestows these miracles on His prophets and saints, and refers His actions to them and theirs to Himself, as He hath said: "Verily, they who swear fealty unto thee, swear fealty unto God" (Qur.xlviii,10), and again: "Whosoever obeys the Apostle has obeyed God" (Qur.iv,82). Accordingly, His saints are united (*mujtami'*) by their inward feelings (*asrar*) and separated (muftariq) by their outward behaviour, so that their love of God is strengthened by the internal union, and the right fulfilment of their duty as servants of God is

assured by their external separation. A certain great Shaykh says :--

"I have realized that which is within me, and my tongue hath conversed with Thee in secret,

And we are united in one respect, but we are separated in another.

Although awe has hidden Thee from the glances of mine eye,

Ecstasy has made Thee near to my inmost parts."[23]

The state of being inwardly united he calls "union", and the secret conversation of the tongue he calls "separation"; then he indicates that both union and separation are in himself, and attributes the basis (*qa'ida*) of them to himself. This is very subtle.

SECTION

Here I must notice a matter of controversy between us and those who maintain that the manifestation of union is the denial of separation, because the two terms contradict each other, and that when anyone passes under the absolute sway of Divine guidance he ceases to act and to mortify himself. This is sheer nullification (*ta'til*), for a man must never cease to practise devotion and mortify himself as long as he has the possibility and power of doing so. Moreover, union is not apart from separation, as light is apart from the sun, and accident from substance, and attribute from object: therefore, neither is self-mortification apart from Divine guidance, nor the Truth from the Law, nor discovery from search. But mortification may precede or follow Divine guidance. In the former case a man's

tribulation is increased, because he is in "absence" (*ghaybat*), while in the latter case he has no trouble or pain, because he is in "presence" (*hadrat*). Those to whom negation is the source (*mashrab*) of actions, and to whom it seems to be the substance (*'ayn*) of action, commit a grave error. A man, however, may attain such a degree that he regards all his qualities as faulty and defective, for when he sees that his praiseworthy are vicious and imperfect, his blameworthy qualities will necessarily appear more vicious. I adduce these considerations because some ignorant persons, who have fallen into an error that is closely akin to infidelity, assert that no result whatever depends upon our exertion, and that inasmuch as our actions and devotions are faulty and our mortifications are imperfect a thing left undone is better than a thing done. To this argument I reply: "You are agreed in supposing that everything done by us has an energy (*fil*), and you declare that our energies are a centre of defect and a source of evil and corruption: consequently you must also suppose that things left undone by us have an energy; and since in both cases there is an energy involving defect, how can you regard that which we leave undone is better than that which we do?" This notion evidently is a noxious delusion. Here we have an excellent criterion to distinguish the believer from the infidel. Both agree that their energies are inherently defective, but the believer, in accordance with God's command, deems a thing done to be better than a thing left undone, while the infidel, in accordance with his denial of the Creator (*t'atil*), deems a thing left undone to be better than a thing done.

Union, then, involves this -- that, although the imperfection of separation is recognized, its authority (*hukm*) should not be let go; and separation involves this -- that, although one is veiled from the sight of union, he nevertheless thinks that separation is union. Muzayyin the

Eleder[24] says in this sense: "Union is the state of privilege (*khususiyyat*) and separation is the state of a servant (*'ubudiyyat*), these states being indissolubly combined with each other," because it is a work of the privileged state to fulfil the duties of servantship; therefore, although the tediousness and painfulness of self-mortification and personal effort maybe removed from one who performs all that is required of him in this respect, it is impossible that the substance (*'ayn*) of self-mortification and religious obligation should be removed from anyone, even though he be in the essence of union, unless he has an evident excuse that is generally acknowledged by the authority of the religious law. Now I will explain this matter in order that you may better understand it.

Union is of two kinds: (1) sound union (*jam'-i salamat*), and (2) broken union (*jam'-i taksir*). Sound union is that which God produces in a man when he is in the state of rapture and ecstasy, and when God causes him to receive and fulfil His commandments and to mortify himself. This was the state of Sahl b. ‘Abdullah and Abu Hafs Haddad and Abu 'l-'Abbas Sayyari, the author of the doctrine. Abu Yazid of Bistam, Abu Bakr Shibli, Abu 'l-Hasan Husri, and a number of great Shaykhs were continually in a state of rapture until the hour of prayer arrived; then they returned to consciousness, and after performing their prayers became enraptured again. While thou art in the state of separation, thou art thou, and thou fulfillest the command of God; but when God transports thee He has the best right to see that thou performest His command, for two reasons: firstly, in order that the token of servantship may not be removed from thee, and secondly, in order that He may keep His promise that He will never let the law of Muhammad be abrogated. "Broken union" (*jam'-i taksir*) is this: that a man's judgment becomes distraught and bewildered, so that it is like the judgment of a lunatic: then

he is either excused from performing his religious obligations or rewarded (*mashkur*) for performing them; and the state of him who is rewarded is sounder than the state of him who is excused.

You must know, in short, that union does not involve any peculiar "station" (*maqam*) or any peculiar "state" (*hal*), for union is the concentration of one's thoughts (*jam'-i himmat*) upon the object of one's desire. According to some the revelation of this matter takes place in the "stations" (*maqamat*), according to others in the "states" (*ahwal*), and in either case the desire of the "united" person (*sahib jam'*) is attained by negating his desire. This holds good in everything, e.g., Jacob concentrated his thoughts on Joseph, so that he had not thought but of him; and Majnun concentrated his thoughts on Layla, so that he saw only her in the whole world, and all created things assumed the form of Layla in his eyes. One day, when Abu Yazid was in his cell, some one came and asked: "Is Abu Yazid here?" He answered: "Is anyone here except God?" And a certain Shaykh relates that a dervish came to Makkah and remained in contemplation of the Ka'bah for a whole year, during which time he neither ate nor drank, nor slept, nor cleansed himself, because of the concentration of his thoughts upon the Ka'bah, which thereby became the food of his body and the drink of his soul. The principle in all these cases is the same, viz. that God divided the one substance of His love and bestows a particle thereof, as a peculiar gift, upon every one of His friends in proportion to their enravishment with Him; then He lets down upon that particle the shrouds of humanity and nature and temperament and spirit, in order that by its powerful working it may transmute to its own quality all the particles that are attached to it, until the lover's clay is wholly converted into love and all his actions and looks become so many indispensable conditions of love. This state is named

"union" alike by those who regard the inward meaning and those who regard the outward expression. Husayn b. Mansur (al-Hallaj) says in this sense:--

"Thy will be done, O my Lord and Master!
Thy will be done, O my purpose and meaning!
O essence of my being, O goal of my desire,
O my speech and my hints and my gestures!
O all of my all, O my hearing and my sight,
O my whole and my element and my particles!"

Therefore, to one whose qualities are only borrowed from God, it is a disgrace to affirm his own existence, and an act of dualism (*zunnar*) to pay any heed to the phenomenal universe; and all created objects are despicable to his soaring thought. Some have been led by their dialectical subtlety and their admiration of phraseology to speak of "the union of union" (*jam' al-jam'*). This is a good expression as phrases go, but if you consider the meaning, it is better not to predicate union of union, because the term "union" cannot properly be applied except to separation. Before union can be united it must first have been separated, whereas the fact is that union does not change its state. The expression, therefore, is liable to be misunderstood, because one who is "united" does not look forth from himself to what is above or to what is below him. Do not you perceive that when the two worlds were displayed to the Apostle on the night of the Ascension he paid no heed to anything? He was in "union", and one who is "united" does not behold "separation". Hence God said: "His gaze swerved not, nor did it stray" (Qur.liii,17). In my early days I composed a book on this subject and entitled it *Kitab al-bayan li-ahl al-'iyan*,[25] and I have also discussed the matter at length in the Bahr al-qulub[26] in the chapter on "Union". I will not now burden my readers by adding to what I have said here.

This sketch of the doctrine of the Sayyaris concludes my account of those Sufi sects which are approved and follow the path of true theosophy. I now turn to the opinions of those heretics who have connected themselves with the Sufis and have adopted Sufistic phraseology as a means of promulgating their heresy. My aim is to expose their errors in order that novices may not be deceived by their pretensions and may guard themselves from mischief.

11. THE HULULIS

Of those two reprobate sects which profess to belong to Sufi'ism and make the Sufis partners in their error, one follows Abu Hulman of Damascus.[27] The stories, which his adherents relate of him do not agree with what is written about him in the books of the Shaykhs, for, while the Sufis regard him as one of themselves, these sectaries impute to him the doctrines of incarnation (*hulul*) and commixture (*imtizaj*) and transmigration of spirits (*naskh-i arwah*). I have seen this statement in the book of Muqaddasi,[28] who attacks him; and the same notion of him has been formed by theologians, but God knows best what is the truth. The other sect refer their doctrine to Faris,[29] who pretends to have derived it from Husayn b. Mansur (al-Hallaj), but he is the only one of Husayn's followers who holds such tenets. I saw Abu Ja'far Saydalani[30] with four thousand men, dispersed throughout 'Iraq, who were Hallajis; and they all cursed Faris on account of this doctrine. Moreover, in the compositions of al-Hallaj himself their is nothing but profound theosophy.

I, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, say that I do no know who Faris and Abu Hulman were or what they said, but anyone who holds a doctrine conflicting with Unification and true theosophy has no part in religion at all. If religion, which is the root, is not firmly based, Sufi'ism, which is the branch

and offspring of religion, must with more reason be unsound, for it is inconceivable that miracles and evidences should be manifested except to religious persons and Unitarians. All the errors of these sectaries are in regard to the spirit (*ruh*). Now, therefore, I will explain its nature and principles according to the Sunni canon, and in the course of my explanation I will notice the erroneous and delusive opinions of the heretics in order that your faith may be strengthened thereby.

Discourse on the Spirit (al-ruh)

You must know that knowledge concerning the existence of the spirit is intuitive (*daruri*), and the intelligence is unable to apprehend its (the spirit's) nature. Every Muslim divine and sage has expressed some conjectural opinin on this point, which has also been debated by unbelievers of various sorts. When the unbelievers of Quraysh, prompted by the Jews, sent Nadr b. al-Harith to question the Apostle concerning the nature and essence of the spirit, God in the first place affirmed its substance and said, "And they will ask thee concerning the spirit"; then He denied its eternity, saying, "Answer, 'The spirit belongs to that which (i.e. the creation of which) my Lord commanded'" (Qur.xvii, 87). And the Apostle said: "The spirits are hosts gathered together: those that know one another agree, and those that do not know one another disagree." There are many similar proofs of the existence of the spirit, but they contain no authoritative statement as to its nature. Some have said that the spirit is the life whereby the body lives, a view which is also held by a number of scholastic philosophers. According to this view the spirit is an accident (*'arad*), which at God's command keeps the body alive, and from which proceed conjunction, motion, cohesion and similar accidents by which the body is changed from one state to another. Others, again, declare

that the spirit is not life, but that life does not exist without it, just as the spirit does not exist without the body, and that the two are never found apart, because they are inseparable, like pain and the knowledge of pain. According to this view also the spirit is an accident, like life. All the Sufi Shaykhs, however, and most orthodox Muslims hold that the spirit is a substance, and not an attribute; for, so long as it is connected with the body, God continually creates life in the body, and the life of Man is an attribute and by it he lives, but the spirit is deposited in his body and may be separated from him while he is still living, as in sleep. But when it leaves him, intelligence and knowledge can no longer remain with him, for the Apostle has said that the spirits of martyrs are in the crops of birds: consequently it must be a substance; and the Apostle has said that the spirits are hosts (*junud*), and hosts are subsistent (*baqi*), and no accident can subsist, for an accident does not stand by itself.

The spirit, then, is a subtle body (*jismi latif*), which comes and goes by the command of God. On the night of the Ascension, when the Apostle saw in Heaven Adam, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Jesus, and Abraham, it was their spirits that he saw; and if the spirit were an accident, it would not stand by itself so as to become visible, for it would need a locus in substances, and substances are gross (*kathif*). Accordingly, it has been ascertained that the spirit is subtle and corporeal (*jasim*), and being corporeal, it is visible, but visible only to the eye of intelligence (*chashm-i dil*). And spirits may reside in the crops of birds or maybe armies that move to and from, as the Apostolic Traditions declare.

Here we are at variance with the heretics, who assert that the spirit is eternal (*qadim*), and worship it, and regard it as the sole agent and governor of things, and call it the uncreated spirit of God, and aver that it passes from one

body to another. No popular error has obtained such wide acceptance as this doctrine, which is held by the Christians, although they express it in terms that appear to conflict with it, and by all the Indians, Tibetans, and Chinese, and is supported by the consensus of opinion among the Shi'ites, Carmathians, and Isma'ilis (*Batiniyan*), and is embraced by the two false sects above mentioned. All these sectaries base their belief on certain propositions and bring forward proofs in defence of their assertion. I ask them this question: "What do you mean by 'eternity' (*qidam*)? Do you mean the pre-existence of a non-eternal thing, or an eternal thing that never came into being?" If they mean the pre-existence of a non-eternal thing, then there is no difference between us in principle, for we too say that the spirit is non-eternal (*muhdath*), and that it existed before the body, as the Apostle said: "God created the spirits two thousand years before the bodies." Accordingly, the spirit is one sort of God's creatures, and He joins it to another sort of His creatures, and in joining them together He produces life through His predestination. But the spirit cannot pass from body to body, because, just as a body cannot have two lives, so a spirit cannot have two bodies. If these facts were not affirmed in Apostolic Traditions by an Apostle who speaks the truth, and if the matter were considered purely from the standpoint of a reasonable intelligence, then the spirit would be life and nothing else, and it would be an attribute, not a substance. Now suppose, on the other hand, they say that the spirit is an eternal thing that never came into being. In this case, I ask: "Does it stand by itself or by something else?" If they say, "By itself." I ask them, "Is God its world (*'alam*) or not?" If they answer that God is not its world, they affirm the existence of two eternal beings, which is contrary to reason, for the eternal is infinite, and the essence of one eternal being would limit the other. But if they answer that God is its world, then I say that God is eternal and His creatures are non-eternal: it

is impossible that the eternal should be commingled with the non-eternal or made one with it, or become immanent in it, or that the non-eternal should be the place of the eternal or that the eternal should carry it; for whatever is joined to anything must be like that to which it is joined, and only homogeneous things are càpable of being united and separated. And if they say that the spirit does not stand by itself, but by something else, then it must be either an attribute (*sifat*) or an accident (*'arad*). If it is an accident, it must either be in a locus or not. If it is in a *locus*, its locus must be like itself, and neither can be called eternal; and to say that it has no *locus* is absurd, for an accident cannot stand by itself. If, again, they say that the spirit is an eternal attribute -- and this is the doctrine of the Hululis and those who believe in metempsychosis (*tanasukhiyan*) -- and call it an attribute of God, I reply that an eternal attribute of God cannot possibly become an attribute of His creatures; for, if His life could become the life of His creatures, similarly His power could become their power; and inasmuch as an attribute stands by its object, how can an eternal attribute stand by a non-eternal object? Therefore, as I have shown, the eternal has no connexion with the non-eternal, and the doctrine of the heretics who affirm this is false. The spirit is created and is under God's command. Anyone who holds another belief is in flagrant error and cannot distinguish what is non-eternal from what is eternal. No saint, if his saintship be sound, can possibly be ignorant of the attrbutes of God. I give praise without end to God, who hath guarded us from heresics and dangers, and hath bestowed on us intelligence to examine and refute them by our arguments, and hath given us faith in order that we may know Him. When men who see only the exterior hear stories of this kind from theologians, they imagine that this is the doctrine of all aspirants to Sufi'ism. They are grossly mistaken and utterly deceived, and the consequence is that they are blinded to the beauty of our mystic knowledge and

to the loveliness of Divine saintship and to the flashes of spiritual illumination, because eminent Sufis regard popular applause and popular censure with equal indifference.

SECTION

One of the Shaykhs says: "The spirit in the body is like fire in fuel; the fire is created (*makhluq*) and the coal is made (*masnu*)." Nothing can be described as eternal except the essence and attributes of God. Abu Bakr Wasiti has discoursed on the spirit more than anyof the Sufi Shaykhs. It is related that he said: "There are ten stations (*maqamat*) of spirits: (1) the spirits of the sincere (*mukhlisan*), which are imprisoned in a darkness and know not what will befall them; (2) the spirits of pious men (*parsa-mardan*), which in the heaven of this world rejoice in the fruits of their actions and take pleasure in devotions, and walk by the strength thereof; (3) the spirits of disciples (*muridan*), which are in the fourth heaven and dwell with the angels in the delights of veracity, and in the shadow of their good works; (4) the spirits of the beneficent (*ahl-i minan*), which are hung in lamps of light from the Throne of God, and their food is mercy, and their drink is favour and proximity; (5) the spirits of the faithful (*ahl-e-Wafa*), which thrill with joy in the veil of purity and the station of electness (*istifa*); (6) the spirits of martyrs (*shahidan*), which are in Paradise in the crops of birds, and go where they will in its gardens early and late; (7) the spirits of those who yearn (*mushtaqan*), which stand on the carpet of respect (*adab*) clad in the luminous veils of the Divine attrbutes; (8) the spirits of gnostics (*'arifan*), which, in the precincts of holiness, listen at morn and eve to the word of God and see their places in Paradise and in this world; (9) the spirits of lovers (*dustan*), which have become absorbed in contemplation of the Divine beauty and the station of revelation (*kashf*), and perceive nothing but God and rest content with no other

thing; (10) the spirits of dervishes, which have found favour with God in the abode of annihilation, and have suffered a transformation of quality and a change of state."

It is related concerning the Shaykhs that they have seen the spirit in different shapes, and this may well be, because, as I have said, it is created, and a subtle body (*jismi latif*) is necessarily visible. God shows it to every one of His servants, when and as it pleases Him.

I, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, declare that our life is wholly through God, and our stability is through Him, and our being kept alive is the act of God in us, and we live through His creation, not through His essence and attributes. The doctrine of the animists (*ruhiyan*) is entirely false. Belief in the eternity of the spirit is one of the grave errors which prevail among the vulgar, and is expressed in different ways, e.g. they use the terms "soul" and "matter" (*nafs u hayula*), or "light" and "darkness" (*nur u zulmat*), and those Sufi impostors speak of "annihilation" and "subsistence" (*fana u baqa*), or "union" and "separation" (*jam u tafriqa*), or adopt similar phrases as a fair mask for their infidelity. But the Sufis abjure these heretics, for the Sufis hold that saintship and true love of God depend on knowledge of Him, and anyone who does not know the eternal from the non-eternal is ignorant in what he says, and the intelligent pay no attention to what is said by the ignorant. Now I will unveil the portals of the practice and theory of the Sufis, furnishing my explanation with evident proofs, in order that you may the more easily comprehend my meaning, and that any sceptic possessed of insight may be led back into the right way, and that I may thereby gain a blessing and a Divine reward.

1 i.e. the detachment of all phenomenal attributes from the unity of God.
2 According to Qushayri (105, 21 ff.) the 'Iraqis held the doctrine which is here ascribed to the Khurasanis, and vice versa.

3 A well-known traditionist, who died about 120 A.H.
4 'Abdullah, son of the Caliph 'Umar.
5 Here follow two stories illustrating the same topic: the first relates how 'Ali slept in the Prophet's bed on the night of the latter's emigration from Mecca, when the infidels were seeking to slay him; the second, how on the battlefield of Uhud the wounded Muslims, though parched with thirst, preferred to die rather thau drink the water which their comrades asked for.
6 The followers of Hamdun al-Qassar, who are generally called Qassaris.
7 Here the author cites Qur.lxxix,40,41; ii, 81 (part of the verse); xii,53; and the Traditions: "When God wishes well unto His servant He causes him to see the faults of his soul," and "God said to David, 'O David, hate thy soul, for My love depends on thy hatred of it."
8 Here follows an account of the mortification which the Prophet imposed on himself.
9 Qur.xlvii, 12.
10 See Ibu Khallikan, No.4.
11 See Ibu Khallikan. No.621; Brockelmann, i. 166.
12 The name mujizat is given to a miracle performed by a Prophet, while one performed by a saint is called karamat.
13 B. omits the words "that he is insensibly deceived".
14 Here follow (1) a Tgradition, related by Ahu Hurayra, of three iufants who were miraculously endowed with speech: (a) Jesus. (b) a child who exculpated the monk Jurayj (George) when he was falsely accused by a harlot, (c) a child who divined the characters of a horseman and a woman. (2) A story of Za'ida, the handmaid of the Caliph 'Umar: how a knight descended from heaven and gave her a message from Ridwan, the keeper of Paradise, to the Prophet; and how, when she could uot lift a bundle of firewood from a rock on which she had laid it, the Prophet bade the rock go with her and carry the firewood to 'Umar's house. (3) A story of '|Ala b. al-Hadrami, who, having heen sent on a warlike expedition by the Prophet, walked dry shod across a river with his company. (4) A story of 'Abdullah b. 'Umar, at whose bidding a lion decamped aud left the way open for a party of travelers. (5) A story of a man who was seen sitting in the air, and when Abraham asked him by what means he had obtained such power, replied that he had renounced the world and that God had bestowed on him an aerial dwelling place where he was uot disturbed by any thought of mankind. (6) A story of the Caliph 'Umar, who was on the point of being killed by a Persian, when two lions suddenly appeared and caused the assassin to desist. (7) A story of Khalid b. Walid, who said "Bismillah" and drank a deadly poison, which did him no harm. (8) A story, related by Hasan of Basra, of a Negro who turned the walls of a tavern into gold. (9) A story, related by Ibrahim b. Adham, of a shepherd who smote a rock with his staff and caused water to gush forth. (10) A story of a cup which pronounced the words "Glory to God" in the hearing of Abu Darda and Salman Farisi.
15 Died iu 326 A.H. See Abu 'l-Mahasin, Nujum.ii,284,13.
16 L. IJ.
17 See Nafahat, No.351.

18 Here the author tells the story, which has already been related (p.142 supra), of Abu Bakr Warraq, who was commanded by Muhammad b. 'Ali of Tirmidh to throw some of the latter's mystical writings into the Qxus.
19 A full account of Bayazid's ascension is giveu in the Tadhkirat al-Awliya, I, 172 ff.
20 See Qur. ii, 96 ff.
21 For the distinction between sifat-e-dhat and sifat-e-fi'l see Dozy, Supplement, ii, 810.
22 Here the author illustrates the meaning of "union" and "separation" by the action of Muhammad when he threw gravel in the eyes of the unbelievers at Badr, and by that of David when he slew Goliath. See p. 185 supra.
23 The last words are corrupt and unmetrical in all the texts. I have found the true reading, in a MS. Of the Kitab al-Luma' by Abu Nasr al-Sarraj, which has recently come into the possession of Mr. A.G. Ellis.
24 Nafahat, No.188.
25 "The Book of Exposition for Persons of Intuition."
26 "The Sea of Hearts."
27 See note, p.131.
28 The nisba Muqaddasi or Maqdisi belongs to a number of Muslim writers. I do not know which of them is intended here.
29 See Nafahat, No.178.
30 This person, whom the author has already mentioned at the beginning of Chapter XIII, is not identical with the Sufi of the same name who was a contemporary of Junayd (Nafahat, No.197).

CHAPTER XV

THE UNCOVERING OF THE FIRST VEIL: CONCERNING THE GNOSIS OF GOD (*ma'rifat Allah*)

The Apostle said: "If ye knew God as He ought to be known,ye would walk on the seas, and the mountains would move at your call." Gnosis of God is of two kinds: cognitional (*'ilmi*) and emotional (*hali*). Cognitional gnosis is the foundation of all blessings in this world and in the next, for the most important thing for a man at all times and in all circumstances is knowledge of God, as God hath said: "I only created the genii and mankind that they might serve Me" (Qur.li,56), i.e. that they might know Me. But the greater part of men neglect this duty, except those whom God hath chosen and whose hearts He hath vivified with Himself.Gnosis is the life of the heart through God, and the turning away of one's inmost thoughts from all that is not God. The worth of everyone is in proportion to gnosis, and he who is without gnosis is worth nothing. Theologians, lawyers, and other classes of men give the name of gnosis (*marifat*) to right cognition (*'ilm*) of God, but the Sufi Shaykhs call right feeling (*hal*) towards God by that name. Hence they have said that gnosis (*ma'rifat*) is more excellent than cognition (*'ilm*), for right feeling (*hal*) is the result of right cognition, but right cognition is not the same thing as right feeling, i.e. one who has not cognition of God is not Gnostic (arif), but one may have cognition of God without being a gnostic. Those of either class who were ignorant of this distinction engaged in useless controversy, and the one party disbelieved in the other party. Now I will explain the matter in order that both may be instructed.

SECTION

You must know that there is a great difference of opinion touching the gnosis and right cognition of God. The Mu'tazilites assert that gnosis is intellectual and that only a reasonable person (*'aqil*) can possibly have it. This doctrine is disproved by the fact that madmen, within Islam, are deemed to have gnosis, and that children, who are not reasonable, are deemed to have faith. Were the criterion of gnosis an intellectual one, such persons must be without gnosis, while unbelievers could not be charged with infidelity, provided only that they were reasonable beings. If reason were the cause of gnosis, it would follow that every reasonable person must know God, and that all who lack reason must be ignorant of Him; which is manifestly absurd. Others pretend that demonstration (*istidlal*) is the cause of knowledge of God, and that such knowledge is not gained except by those who deduce it in this manner. The futility of this doctrine is exemplified by Iblis, for he saw many evidences, such as Paradise, Hell, and the Throne of God, yet they did not cause him to have gnosis. God hath said that knowledge of Him depends on His will (Qur.vi,111). According to the view of orthodox Muslims, soundness of reason and regard to evidences are a means (*sabab*) to gnosis, but not the cause (*'illat*) thereof: the sole cause is God's will and favour, for without His favour (*'inayat*) reason is blind. Reason does not even know itself: how, then, can it know another? Heretics of all sorts use the demonstrative method, but the majority of them do not know God. On the other hand, whenever one enjoys the favour of God, all his actions are so many tokens of gnosis; his demonstration is search (*talab*), and his neglect of demonstration is resignation to God's will (*taslim*); but, in reference to perfect gnosis, resignation is no better than search, for search is a principle that cannot be neglected,

while resignation is a principle that excludes the possibility of agitation (*idtirab*), and these two principles do not essentially involve gnosis. In reality Man's only guide and enlightener is God. Reason and the proofs adduced by reason are unable to direct anyone into the right way. If the infidels were to return from the place of Judgment to this world, they would bring their infidelity back with them (cf. Qur.vi,28). When the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali, was asked concerning gnosis, he said: "I know God by God, and I know that which is not God by the light of God." God created the body and committed its life to the spirit (*jan*), and He created the soul (*dil*) and committed its life to Himself. Hence, inasmuch as reason and human faculties and evidences have no power to make the body live, they cannot make the soul live, as God hath said: "Shall he who was dead and whom We have restored to life and to whom We have given a light whereby he may walk among men ...?" (Qur.vi,122), i.e. "I am the Creator of the light in which believers are illumined". It is God that opens and seals the hearts of men (Qur.xxxix,23; ii,6): therefore He alone is able to guide them. Everything except Him is a cause or a means, and causes and means cannot possibly indicate the right way without the favour of the Causer. He it is that imposes the obligation of piety, which is essentially gnosis; and those on whom that obligation is laid, so long as they are in the state of obligation, neither bring it upon themselves nor put it way from themselves by their own choice: therefore Man's share in gnosis, unless God makes him know, is mere helplessness. Abu 'l-Hasan Nuri says: "There is none to point out the way to God except God Himself: knowledge is sought only for due performance of His worship." No created being is capable of leading anyone to God. Those who rely on demonstration are not more reasonable than was Abu Talib, and no guide is greater than was Muhammad; yet, since Abu Talib was preordained to misery, the guidance of

Muhammad did not avail him. The first step of demonstration is a turning away from God, because demonstration involves the consideration of some other thing, whereas gnosis is a turning away from all that is not God. Ordinary objects of search are found by means of demonstration, but knowledge of God is extraordinary. Therefore, knowledge of Him is attained only by unceasing bewilderment of the reason, and His favour is not procured by any act of human acquisition, but is miraculously revealed to men's hearts. What is not God is phenomenal (*muhdath*), and although a phenomenal being may reach another like himself he cannot reach his Creator and acquire Him while he exists, for in every act of acquisition he who makes the acquisition is predominant and the thing acquired is under his power. Accordingly, the miracle is not that reason should be led by the act to affirm the existence of the Agent, but that a saint should be led by the light of the Truth to deny his own existence. The knowledge gained is in the one case a matter of logic, in the other it becomes an inward experience. Let those who deem reason to be the cause of gnosis consider what reason affirms in their minds concerning the substance of gnosis, for gnosis involves the negation of whatever is affirmed by reason, i.e. whatever notion of God can be formed by reason, God is in reality something different. How, then, is there any room for reason to arrive at gnosis by means of demonstration? Reason and imagination are homogeneous, and where *genus* is affirmed gnosis is denied. To infer the existence of God from intellectual proofs is assimilation (*tashbih*), and to deny it on the same grounds is nullification (*ta'til*). Reason cannot pass beyond these two principles, which in regard to gnosis are agnosticism, since neither of the parties professing them is Unitarian (*muwahhid*).

Therefore, when reason is gone as far as possible, and the souls of His lovers must need search for Him, they rest

helplessly without their faculties, and while they so rest they grow restless and stretch their hands in supplication and seek a relief for their souls; and when they have exhausted every manner of search in their power, the power of God becomes theirs, i.e. they find the way from Him to Him, and are eased of the anguish of absence and set foot in the garden of intimacy and win to rest. And reason, when it sees that the souls have attained their desire, tries to exert its control, but fails; and when it fails it becomes distraught; and when it becomes distraught it abdicates. Then God clothes it in the garment of service (*khidmat*) and says to it: "While thou wert independent thou wert veiled by thy faculties and their exercise, and when these were annihilated thou didst fa'il, and having failed thou didst attain." Thus it is the allotted portion of the soul to be near unto God, and that of the reason is to do His service. God causes Man to know Him through Himself with a knowledge that is not linked to any faculty, a knowledge in which the existence of Man is merely metaphorical. Hence to the gnostic egoism is utter perfidy; his remembrance of God is without forgetfulness, and his gnosis is not empty words but actual feeling.

Others, again, declare that gnosis is the result of inspiration (*ilham*). This also is impossible, because gnosis supplies a criterion for distinguishing truth from falsehood, whereas the inspired have no such criterion. If one says, "I know by inspiration that God is in space," and another says, "I know by inspiration that He is not in space," one of these contradictory statements must be true, but a proof is necessary in order to decide where the truth lies. Consequently, this view, which is held by the Brahmans and the inspirationists (*ilhamiyan*), falls to the ground. In the present age I have met a number of persons who carried it to an extreme and who connected their own position with the doctrine of religious men, but they are altogether in

error, and their assertion is repugnant to all reasonable Muslims and unbelievers. If it be said that whatever conflicts with the sacred law is not inspiration, I reply that this argument is fundamentally unsound, because, if inspiration is to be judged and verified by the standard of the sacred law, then gnosis does not depend on inspiration, but on law and prophecy and Divine guidance.

Others assert that knowledge of God is intuitive (*daruri*). This also is impossible. Everything that is known in this way must be known in common by all reasonable men, and inasmuch as we see that some reasonable men deny the existence of God and hold the doctrines of assimilation (*tashbih*) and nullification (*ta'til*), it is proved that knowledge of God is not intuitive. Moreover, if it were so, the principle of religious obligation (*taklif*) would be destroyed, for that principle cannot possibl be applied to objects of intuitive knowledge, such as one's self the heaven and the earth, day and night, pleasure and pain, etc., concerning the existence of which no reasonable man can have any doubt, and which he must know even against his will. But some aspirants to Sufi'ism, considering the absolute certainty (*yaqin*) which they feel, say: "We know God intuitively," giving the name of intuition to this certainty. Substantially they are right, but their expression is erroneous, because intuitive knowledge cannot be exclusively restricted to those who are perfect; on the contrary, it belongs to all reasonable men. Furthermore, it appears in the minds of living creatures without any means or evidence, whereas the knowledge of God is a means (*sababi*). But Master Abu 'Ali Daqqaq and Shaykh Abu Sahl Su'luki[1] and his father, who was a leading religious authority at Nishapur, maintain that the beginning of gnosis is demonstrative and that its end is intuitive,just as technical knowledge is first acquired and finally becomes instinctive."Do not you perceive," they say, "that in

Paradise knowledge of God becomes intuitive? Why should it not become ntuitive in this world too? And the Apostles, when they heard the word of God, either immediately or from the mouth of an angel or by revelation, knew Him intuitively." I reply that the inhabitants of Paradise know God intuitively in Paradise, because in Paradise no religious obligation is imposed, and the Apostles have no fear of being separated from God at the last, but enjoy the same security as those who know Him intuitively. The excellence of gnosis and faith lies in their being hidden; when they are made visible, faith becomes compulsory (*jabr*), and there is no longer any free will in regard to its visible substance (*'ayn*), and the foundations of the religious law are shaken, and the principle of apostasy is annulled, so that Bal'am[2] and Iblis and Barsisa[3] cannot properly be described as infidels, for it is generally allowed that they had knowledge of God. The gnostic, while he remains a gnostic, has no fear of being separated from God; separation is produced by the loss of gnosis, but intuitive knowledge cannot conceivably be lost. This doctrine is full of danger to the vulgar. In order that you may avoid its evil consequences you must know that Man's knowledge and his gnosis of God depend entirely on the information and eternal guidance of the Truth. Man's certainty in gnosis maybe now greater and now less, but the principle of gnosis is neither increased nor diminished, since in either case it would be impaired. You must not let blind conformity enter into your knowledge of God, and you must know Him through His attributes of perfection. This can be attained only through the providence and favour of God, who has absolute control of our minds. If He so will, He makes one of His actions a guide that shows us the way to Himself, and if He will otherwise, He makes that same action an obstacle that prevents us from reaching Him. Thus Jesus was to some a guide that led them to gnosis,but to others he was an obstacle that hindered them from

gnosis; the former party said, "This is the servant of God," and the latter said, "This is the son of God." Similarly, some were led to God by idols and by the sun and moon, while others were led astray. Such guides are a means of gnosis, but not the immediate cause of it, and one means is no better than another in relation to Him who is the author of them all. The gnostic's affirmation of a means is a sign of dualism (*zunnar*), and regard to anything except the object of knowledge is polytheism (*shirk*). When a man is doomed to perdition in the Preserved Tablet, nay, in the will and knowledge of God, how can any proof and demonstration lead him aright? The most high God, as He pleases and by whatever means He pleases, shows His servant the way to Himself and opens to him the door of gnosis, so that he attains to a degree where the very essence of gnosis appears alien (*ghayr*) and its attributes become noxious to him, and he is veiled by his gnosis from the object known and realizes that his gnosis is a pretension (*da'wa*). Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian says: "Beware lest thou make pretensions to gnosis," and it has been said in verse :-

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"The gnostics pretend to knowledge,
But I avow ignorance: that is my knowledge."

Therefore do not claim gnosis, lest thou perish in thy pretension, but cleave to the reality thereof, that thou mayest be saved. When anyone is honoured by the revelation of the Divine majesty, his existence becomes a plague to him and all his attributes a source of corruption. He who belongs to God and to whom God belongs is not connected with anything in the universe. The real gist of gnosis is to recognize that to God is the kingdom. When a man knows that all possessions are in the absolute control of God, what further business has he with mankind, that he should be veiled from God by them or by himself. All such

veils are the result of ignorance. As soon as ignorance is annihilated, they vanish, and this life is made equal in rank to the life hereafter.

SECTION

Now, for instruction's sake, I will mention some of the numerous sayings which the Shaykhs have uttered on this subject.

'Abdullah b. Mubarak says: "Gnosis consists in not being astonished by anything," because astonishment arises from an act exceeding the power of the doer, and inasmuch as God is omnipotent it is impossible that a gnostic should be astonished by His acts. If there be any room for astonishment, one must needs marvel that God exalts a handful of earth to such a degree that it receives His commands, and a drop of blood to such an eminence that it discourses of love and knowledge of Him, and seeks vision of Him, and desires union with Him. Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian says: "Gnosis is in reality God's providential communication of the spiritual light to our in most hearts," i.e., until God, in His providence, illuminates the heart of Man and keeps it from contamination, so that all created things have not even the worth of a mustard seed in his heart, the contemplation of Divine mysteries, both inward and outward, does not overwhelm him with rapture; but when God has done this, his every look becomes an act of contemplation (*mushahadah*). Shibli says: "Gnosis is continual amazement (*hayrat*)." Amazement is of two kinds: (1) amazement at the essence and (2) amazement at the quality. The former is polytheism and infidelity, because no gnostic can possibly be in doubt concerning the essential nature of God; but the latter is gnosis, because the quality of God lies beyond reason's scope. Hence a certain one said: "O Guide of the amazed, increase my

amazement!" In the first place, he affirmed the existence of God and the perfection of His attributes, and recognized that He is the object of men's search and the accomplisher of their prayers and the author of their amazement; then he asked for increase of amazement and recognized that in seeking God the reason has no alternative between amazement and polytheism. This sentiment is very fine. It maybe, again, that knowledge of God's being involves amazement at one's own being, because when a man knows God he sees himself entirely subdued by the Divine omnipotence; and since his existence depends on God and his non-existence proceeds from God, he becomes amazed, saying: "Who and what am I?" In this sense the Apostle said: "He who knows himself has come to know his Lord," i.e. he who knows himself to be annihilated knows God to be eternally subsistent. Annihilation destroys reason and all human attributes, and when the substance of a thing is not accessible to reason it cannot possibly be known without amazement. Abu Yazid said: "Gnosis consists in knowing that the motion and rest of mankind depend on God," and that without His permission no one has the least control of His kingdom, and that no one can perform any action until He creates the ability to act and puts the will to act in his heart, and that human actions are metaphorical and that God is the real agent.Muhammad b. Wasi says, describing the gnostic: "His words are few and his amazement perpetual," because only finite things admit of being expressed in words, and since the infinite cannot be expressed it leaves no resource except perpetual amazement. Shibli says: "Real gnosis is the inability to attain gnosis," i.e. inability to know a thing, to the real nature of which a man has no clue except the impossibility of attaining it. Therefore, in attaining it, he will rightly take no credit to himself, because inability (*'ajz*) is search, and so long as he depends on his own faculties and attributes, he cannot properly be described by that term; and when

these faculties and attributes depart, then his state is not inability, but annihilation. Some pretenders, while affirming the attributes of humanity and the subsistence of the obligation to decide with sound judgment (*taklif ba-sihhat-i khitab*) and the authority maintained over them by God's proof, declare that gnosis is impotence, and that they are impotent and unable to attain anything. I reply: "In search of what thing have you become so helpless?" Impotence (*'ajz*) has two signs, which are not to be found in you: firstly, the annihilation of the faculties of search, and secondly, the manifestation of the glory of God (*tajalli*). Where the annihilation of the faculties takes place, there is no outward expression (*'ibarat*); and where the glory of God is revealed, no clue can be given and no discrimination is conceivable. Hence one who is impotent does not know that he is so, or that the state attributed to him is called impotence. How should he know this? Impotence is other than God, and the affirmation of knowledge of other than God is not gnosis; and so long as there is room in the heart for aught except God, or the possibility of expressing aught except God, true gnosis has not been attained. The gnostic is not a gnostic until he turns aside from all that is not God. Abu Hafs Haddad says: "Since I have known God, neither truth nor falsehood has entered my heart." When a man feels desire and passion he turns to the soul (*dil*) in order that it may guide him to the lower soul (*nafs*), which is the seat of falsehood; and when he finds the evidence of gnosis, he also turns to the soul in order that it may guide him to the spirit, which is the source of truth and reality. But when aught except God enters the soul, the gnostic, if he turns to it, commits an act of agnosticism. There is a great difference between one who turns to the soul and one who turns to God. Abu Bakr Wasiti says: "He who knows God is cut off from all things, nay, he is dumb and abject (*kharisa wa-'nqama'a*), i.e. he is unable to express anything and all his attributes are annihilated. So the Apostle, while

he was in the state of absence, said: "I am the most eloquent of the Arabs and non-Arabs": but when he was borne to the presence of God, he said: "I know not how to utter Thy praise." Answer came: "O Muhammad, if thou speakest not, I will speak; if thou deemest thyself unworthy to praise Me, I will make the universe thy deputy, that all its atoms may praise Me in thy name."

1 See Nafahat, No.373.
2 See Baydawi on Kor. Vii, 174.
3 See Goldziher & Landberg, Die Legende vom Monch Barsisa (1896), and M. Hartmann, Der Heilige Barsisa in Der Islamische Orient (1905), I, 23-8

CHAPTER XVI

THE UNCOVERING OF THE SECOND VEIL: CONCERNING UNIFICATION (tawhid)

God said, "Your God is one" (Qur.xvi,23); and again, "Say, 'God is one'" (Qur.cxii,1). And the Apostle said: "Long ago there was a man who did no good work except that he pronounced God to be one. When he was dying he said to his folk: 'After my death burn me and gather my ashes and on a windy day throw half of them into the sea, and scatter half of them to the winds of the earth, that no trace of me maybe left.' As soon as he died and this was done, God bade the air and the water keep the ashes which they had received until the Resurrection; and when He raises that man from the dead, He will ask him why he caused himself to be burnt, and he will reply: 'O Lord, from shame of Thee, for I was a great sinner,' and God will pardon him."

Real unification (*tawhid)* consists in asserting the unity of a thing and in having a perfect knowledge of its unity. Inasmuch as God is one, without any sharer in His essence and attributes, without any substitute, without any partner in His actions, and inasmuch as Unitarians (*muwahhidan*) have acknowledged that He is such, their knowledge of unity is called unification.

Unification is of three kinds: (1) God's unification of God, i.e. His knowledge of His unity; (2) God's unification of His creatures, i.e. His decree that a man shall pronounce Him to be one, and the creation of unification in his heart; (3) men's unification of God, i.e. their knowledge of the

unity of God. Therefore, when a man knows God he can declare His unity and pronounce that He is one, incapable of union and separation, not admitting duality; that His unity is not a number so as to be made two by the predication of another number; that He is not finite so as to have six directions; that He has no space, and that He is not in space, so as to need a substance, nor a substance, which cannot exist without another like itself, nor a natural constitution (*tab'i*), in which motion and rest originate, nor a spirit so as to need a frame, nor a body so as to be composed of limbs; and that He does not become immanent (*hall*) in things, for then He must be homogeneous with them; and that He is not joined to anything, for then that thing must be a part of Him; and that He is free from all imperfections and exalted above all defects; and that He has no like, so that He and His creature should make two; and that He has no child whose begetting would necessarily cause Him to be a stock (*asl*); and that His essence and attributes are unchangeable; and that He is endowed with those attributes of perfection which believers and Unitarians affirm, and which He has described Himself as possessing; and that He is exempt from those attributes which heretics arbitrarily impute to Him; and that He is Living, Knowing, Forgiving, Merciful, Willing, Powerful, Hearing, Seeing, Speaking, and Subsistent; and that His knowledge is not a state (*hal*) in Him, nor His power solidly planted (*salabat*) in Him, nor His hearing and sight do detached (*Mutajarrid*) in Him, nor His speech divided in Him; and that He together with His attributes exists from eternity; and that objects of cognition are not outside of His knowledge, and that entities are entirely dependent on His will; and that He does that which He has willed, and wills that which He has known, and no creature has cognisance thereof; and that His decree is an absolute fact, and that His friends have no resource except resignation; and that He is the sole predestinator of good and evil, and the only being

that is worthy of hope or fear; and that He creates all benefit and injury; and that He alone gives judgment, and His judgment is all wisdom; and that no one has any possibility of attaining unto Him; and that the inhabitants of Paradise shall behold Him; and that assimilation (*tashih*) is inadmissible; and that such terms as "confronting" and "seeing face to face" (*muqabalat u muwajahat*) cannot be applied to His being; and that His saints may enjoy the contemplation (mushahadah) of Him in this world.

Those who do not acknowledge Him to be such are guilty of impiety. l, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, said at the beginning of this chapter that unification consists in declaring the unity of a thing, and that such a declaration cannot be made without knowledge. The Sunnis have declared the unity of God with true comprehension, because, seeing a subtle work and a unique act, they recognized that it could not possibly exist by itself, and finding manifest evidences of origination (*huduth*) in every thing, they perceived that there must be an Agent who brought the universe into being -- the earth and heaven and sun and moon and land and sea and all that moves and rests and their knowledge and speech and life and death. For all these an artificer was indispensable. Accordingly, the Sunnis, rejecting the notion that there are two or three artificers, declared themselves satisfied with a single artificer who is perfect, living, knowing, almighty, and unpartnered. And inasmuch as an act requires at least one agent, and the existence of two agents for one act involves the dependence of one on the other, it follows that the Agent is unquestionably and certainly one. Here we are at variance with the dualists, who affirm light and darkness, and with the Magians, who affirm Yazdan and *Ahriman*, and with the natural philosophers (*taba'i'iyan*), who affirm nature and potentiality (*quwwat*), and with the astronomers (*falakiyan*), who affirm the seven planets, and with the

Mu'tazilites, who affirm creators and artificers without end. I have briefly refuted all these vain opinions in a book, entitled *Al-Ri'ayat li-huquq Allah*,[1] to which or to the works of the ancient theologians I must refer anyone who desires further information. Now I will turn to the indications which the Shaykhs have given on this subject.

SECTION

It is related that Junayd said: "Unification is the separation of the eternal from that which was originated in time," i.e. you must not regard the eternal as a *locus* of phenomena, or phenomena as a *locus* of the eternal; and you must know that God is eternal and that you are phenomenal, and that nothing of your *genus* is connected with Him, and that nothing of His attributes is mingled in you, and that there is no homogeneity between the eternal and the phenomenal. This is contrary to the above mentioned doctrine of those who hold the spirit to be eternal. When the eternal is believed to descend into phenomena, or phenomena to be attached to the eternal, no proof remains of the eternity of God and the origination of the universe; and this leads to materialism (*madhhab-i dahriyan*). In all the actions of phenomena there are proofs of unification and evidences of the Divine omnipotence and signs which establish the eternity of God, but men are too heedless to desire only Him or to be content only with keeping Him in remembrance. Husayn b. Mansur (al-Hallaj) says: "The first step in unification is the annihilation of separation (tafrid)," because separation is the pronouncement that one has become separated from imperfections (*afat*), while unification is the declaration of a thing's unity: thererfore in isolation (*fardaniyyat*) it is possible to affirm that which is other than God, and this quality maybe ascribed to others besides God; but in unity (*wahadaniyyat*) it is not possible to affirm other than God,

and unity may not be ascribed to anything except Him. Accordingly, the first step in unification is to deny (that God has) a partner (*sharik*) and to put admixture (*mizaj*) aside, for admixture on the way (to God) is like seeking the highway with a lamp (*mizaj andar minhaj chun talab-i minhaj bashad ba-siraj*). And Husri says: "Our principles in unification are five: the removal of phenomenality, and the affirmation of eternity, and departure from familiar haunts, and separation from brethren, and forgetfulness of what is known and unknown." The removal of phenomenality consists in denying that phenomena have any connexion with unification or that they can possibly attain to His holy essence; and the affirmation of eternity consists in being convinced that God always existed, as I have already explained in discussing the saying of Junayd; and departure from familiar haunts means, for the novice, departure from the habitual pleasures of the lower soul and the forms of this world, and for the adept, departure from lofty stations and glorious states and exalted miracles (*karamat*); and separation from brethren means turning away from the society of mankind and turning towards the society of God, since any thought of other than God is a veil and an imperfection, and the more a man's thoughts are associated with other than God the more is he veiled from God, because it is universally agreed that unification is the concentration of thoughts (*jam'-i himam*), whereas to be content with other than God is a sign of dispersion of thought (*tafriqa-i himmat*); and forgetfulness of a thing which is known or unknown means the unification of that thing, for unification denies whatever the knowledge of mankind affirms about it; and whatever their ignorance affirms about it is merely contrary to their knowledge, for ignorance is not unification, and knowledge of the reality of unification cannot be attained without denying the personal initiative (*tasarruf*) in which knowledge and ignorance consist. A certain Shaykh relates: "While Husri was

speaking to an audience, I fell asleep and dreamed that two angels came down from Heaven and listened for some time to his discourse. Then one said to the other, 'What this man says is the theory (*'ilm*) of unification, not unification itself (*'ayn*).' When I awoke he was explaining unification. He looked at me and said, 'O So-and-so, it is impossible to speak of unification except theoretically,'" It is related that Junayd said: "Unification is this, that one should be a figure (shakhs) in the hands of God, and figure over which His decrees pass according as he in His omnipotence determines, and that one should be sunk in the seas of His unity, self-annihilated and dead alike to the call of mankind to him and his answer to them, absorbed by the reality of the Divine unity in true proximity, and lost to sense and action, because God fulfils in him what He hath willed of him, namely, that his last state should become his first state, and that he should be as he was before he existed." All this means that the Unitarian in the will of God has no more a will of his own, and in the unity of God no regard to himself, so that he becomes like an atom as he was in the eternal past when the covenant of unification was made, and God answered the question which He Himself had asked, and that atom was only the object of His speech.[2] Mankind have no joy in such a one that they should call him to anything, and he has no friendship with anyone that he should respond to their call. This saying indicates the annihilation of human attributes and perfect resignation to God in the state when a man is overpowered by the revelation of His majesty, so that he becomes a passive instrument and a subtle substance that feels nothing, and his body is a repository for the mysteries of God, to whom his speech and actions are attributed; but, unconscious of all as he is, he remains subject to the ordinances of the religious law, to the end that the proof of God maybe established. Such was the Apostle when on the night of the Ascension he was borne to the station of proximity; he

desired that his body should be destroyed and his personality be dissolved, but God's purpose was to establish His proof. He bade the Apostle remain in the state that he was in; whereupon he gained strength and displayed the existence of God from out of his own non-existence and said, "I am not as one of you. Verily, I pass the night with my Lord, and He gives me food and drink"; and he also paid, "I am with God in a state in which none of the cherubim nor any prophet is capable of being contained with me." It is related that Sahl b. 'Abdullah said: "Unification is this, that you should recognize that the essence of God is endowed with knowledge, that is not comprehensible nor visible to the eye in this world, but that it exists in the reality of faith, infinite, incomprehensible, non-incarnate; and that He will be seen in the next world, outwardly and inwardly in His kingdom and His power; and that mankind are veiled from knowledge of the ultimate nature of His essence; and that their hearts know Him, but their intellects cannot reach unto Him; and that believers shall behold Him with their (spiritual) eyes, without comprehending His infinity." This saying includes all the principles of unification. And Junayd said: "The noblest saying concerning unification is that of Abu Bakr: 'Glory to God, who has not vouchsafed to His creatures any means of attaining unto knowledge of Him except through impotence to attain unto knowledge of Him.'" Many have mistaken the meaning of these words of Abu Bakr and suppose that impotence to attain to gnosis is the same thing as agnosticism. This is absurd, because impotence refers only to an existing state, not to a state that is non-existent. For example, a dead man is not incapable of life, but he cannot be alive while he is dead; and a blind man is not incapable of seeing, but he cannot see while he is blind. Therefore, a gnostic is not incapable of gnosis so long as gnosis is existent, for in that case his gnosis resembles intuition. The saying of Abu Bakr maybe brought into

connexion with the doctrine of Abu Sahl Su'luki and Master Abu 'Ali Daqqaq, who assert that gnosis is acquired in the first instance, but finally becomes intuitive. The possessor of intuitive knowledge is compelled and incapable of putting it away or drawing it to himself. Hence, according to what Abu Bakr says, unification is the act of God in the heart of His creature. Shibli says; "Unification veils the Unitarian from the beauty of Oneness," because unification is said to be the act of Man, and an act of Man does not cause the revelation of God, and in the reality of revelation that which does not cause revelation is a veil. Man with all his attributes is other than God, for if his attributes are accounted Divine, then he himself must be accounted Divine, and then Unitarian, unification, and the One become, all three, causes of the existence of one another; and this is precisely the Christian Trinity. If any attribute prevents the seeker of God from annihilating himself in unification, he is still veiled by that attribute, and while he is veiled he is not a Unitarian, for all except God is vanity. This is the interpretation of "There is no God but God."[3]

The Shaykhs have discussed at large the terms by which unification is denoted. Some say that it is an annihilation that cannot properly be attained unless the attributes subsist, while others say that it has no attribute whatever except annihilation. The analogy of union and separation (*jam' u tafriqa*) must be applied to this question in order that it maybe understood. I, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, declarc that unification is a mystery revealed by God to His servants, and that it cannot be expressed in language at all, much less in high-sounding phrases. The explanatory terms and those who use them are other than God, and to affirm what is other than God in unification is to affirm polytheism.

1 "The Observance of what is due to God."
2 Qur. vii, 171.
3 Here the author cites an anecdote of Ibrahim al-Khawwas and al-Hallaj which has been related above. See p.205.

CHAPTER XVII

THE UNCOVERING OF THE THIRD VEIL: CONCERNING FAITH (*iman*)

The Apostle said: "Faith is belief in God and His angels and His (revealed) books."Etymologically, faith (*iman*) means verification (*tasdiq*). Concerning its principles in their application to the religious law there is great discussion and controversy. Thc Mu'tazilitcs hold that faith includes all acts of devotion, theoretical as well as practical: hence they say that sin puts a man outside the pale of faith. The Kharijites, who call a man an infidel because he commits a sin, are of the same opinion. Some declare that faith is simply a verbal profession, while others say it is only knowledge of God, and a party of Sunni scholastics assert that it is mere verification. I have written a separatc work explaning this subject, but my present purpose is to establish what the Sufi Shaykhs believe. They are divided on this question in the same way as the lawyers of the two opposite sects. Some of them, e.g. Fudayl b. 'Iyad and Bishr Hafi and Khayr al-Nassaj and Sumnun al-Muhibb and Abu Hamza of Baghdad and Muhammad Jurayri and a great number of others, hold that faith is verbal profession and verification and practice; but others, e.g. Ibrahim b. Adham and Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian and Abu Yazid of Bistam and Abu Sulayman Darani and Harith Muhasibi and Junayd and Sahl b. ʻAbdullah of Tustar and Shaqiq of Balkh and Hatim Asamm and Muhammad b. al-Fadl of Balkh and a number besides, hold that faith is verbal profession and verification. Some lawyers, i.e. Malik and Shafi'i and Ahmad b. Hanbal, maintain the former view, while the latter opinion is supported by Abu Hanifa and Husayn b. Fadl of Balkh and the followers of Abu

Hanifa, such as Muhammad b. al-Hasan, Dawud Ta'i, and Abu Yusuf. The difference between them is entirely one of expression and is devoid of substance, as I will now briefly explain, in order that no one maybe charged with contradicting the principle of faith because he takes the one view or the other in this dispute.

SECTION

You must know that the orthodox Muslims and the Sufis are agreed that faith has a principle (*asl*) and a derivative (*far*), the principle being verification in the heart, and the derivative being observance of the (Divine) command. Now the Arabs commonly and customarily transfer the name of a principle to a derivative by way of metaphor, e.g. they call the light of the sun "the sun". In this sense the former of the two parties mentioned above apply the name of faith to that obedience (*ta'at*) by which alone a man is made secure from future punishment. Mere verification (i.e. belief), without performance of the Divine commands, does not involve security. Therefore, since security is in proportion to obedience, and obedience together with verification and verbal profession is the cause of security, they bestowed on obedience the name of faith. The other party, however, asserted that gnosis, not obedience, is the cause of security. Obedience, they said, is of no avail without gnosis, whereas one who has gnosis but lacks obedience will be saved at the last, although it depends on the will of God whether he shall be pardoned by Divine grace or through the intercession of the Apostle, or whether he shall be punished according to the measure of his sin and then be delivered from Hell and transported to Paradise. Therefore, since those who have gnosis, although they are sinners, by reason of their gnosis do not remain for ever in Hell, while those who have only works without gnosis do not enter Paradise, it follows that here

obedience is not the cause of security. The Apostle said: "None of you shall be saved by his works." Hence in reality, without any controversy among Muslims, faith is gnosis and acknowledgment and acceptance of works. Whoever knows God knows Him by one of His attributes, and the most elect of His attributes are of three kinds: those connected with His beauty (*jamal*) and with His majesty (*jalal*) and with His perfection (*kamal*). His perfection is not attainable except by those whose perfection is established and whose imperfection is banished. There remain beauty and majesty. Those whose evidence in gnosis is the beauty of God are always longing for vision, and those whose evidence is His majesty are always abhorring their own attributes and their hearts are stricken with awe. Now longing is an effect of love, and so is abhorrence of human attributes, because the lifting of the veil of human attributes is the very essence of love. Therefore faith and gnosis are love, and obedience is a sign of love. Whoever denies this neglects the command of God and knows nothing of gnosis. This evil is manifest among the aspirants to Sufi'ism at the present day. Some heretics, seeing their excellence and persuaded of their high degree, imitate them and say: "Trouble only lasts while you do not know God: as soon as you know Him, all the labour of obedience is removed from the body." But they are wrong. I reply that when you know Him, the heart is filled with longing and His command is held in greater veneration than before. I admit that a pious man may reach a point where he is relieved from the irksomeness of obedience through the increase of Divine aid (*tawfiq*), so that he performs without trouble what is troublesome to others; but this result cannot be achieved without a longing that produces violent agitation. Some, again, say that faith comes entirely from God, while others say that it springs entirely from Man. This has long been a matter of controversy among the people in Transoxania. To assert that faith comes entirely

from God is sheer compulsion (*jabr*), because Man must then have no choice; and to assert that it springs entirely from Man is pure free-will, for Man does not know God except through the knowledge that God gives him. The doctrine of unification is less than compulsion and more than free-will. Similarly, faith is really the act of Man joined to the guidance of God, as God hath said: "Whomsoever God wishes to lead aright, He will open his breast to receive Islam; and whomsoever He wishes to lead astray, He will make his breast strait and narrow" (Qur.vi,125). On this principle, inclination to believe (*girawish*) is the guidance of God, while belief (*girawidan*) is the act of Man. The signs of belief are these: in the heart, holding firmly to unification; in the eye, refraining from forbidden sights and looking heedfully on evidences; in the ear, listening to His word; in the belly, being empty of what is unlawful; in the tongue, veracity. Hence those persons (who assert that faith comes entirely from God) maintain that gnosis and faith may increase and diminution. Accordingly, the increase and diminish, which is generally admitted to be false, for if it were true, then the object of gnosis must also be liable to increase and diminution must be in the derivative, which is the act; and it is generally agreed that obedience may diminish and increase. This does not please the anthropomorphists (*hashwiyan*) who imitate the two parties mentioned above, for some of them hold that obedience is an element of faith, while others declare that faith is a verbal profession and nothing else. Both these doctrines are unjust.

In short, faith is really the absorption of all human attributes in the search of God. This must be unanimously acknowledged by all believers. The might of gnosis overwhelms the attributes of agnosticism, and where faith exists agnosticism is banished, for, as it is said: "A lamp is of no use when the dawn rises." God hath said: "Kings,

when they enter a city, ruin it" (Qur.xxvii,34). When gnosis is established in the heart of the gnostic, the empire of doubt and scepticism and agnosticism is utterly destroyed, and the sovereignty of gnosis subdues his senses and passions so that in all his looks and acts and words he remains within the circle of its authority. I have read that when Ibrahim Khawwas was asked concerning the reality of faith, he replied: "I have no answer to this question just now, because whatever I say is a mere expression, and it behoves me to answer by my actions; but I am setting out for Makkah: do thou accompany me that thou mayest be answered." The narrator continues: "I consented. As we journeyed through the desert, every day two loaves and two cups of water appeared. He gave one to me and took the other for himself. One day an old man rode up to us and dismounted and conversed with Ibrahim for a while; then he left us. I asked Ibrahim to tell me who he was. He replied: 'This is the answer to thy question.' 'How so?' I asked. He said: 'This was Khidr, who begged me to let him accompany me, but I refused, for I feared that in his company I might put confidence in him instead of in God, and then my trust in God (*tawakkul*) would have been vitiated. Real faith is trust in God.'" And Muhammad b. Khafif says: "Faith is the belief of the heart in that knowledge which comes from the Unseen," because faith is in that which is hidden, and it can be attained only through Divine strengthening of one's certainty, which is the result of knowledge bestowed by God.

Now I will come to matters of practice and will explain their difficulties.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE UNCOVERING OF THE FOURTH VEIL: CONCERNING PURIFICATION FROM FOULNESS

After faith, the first thing incumbent on everyone is purification (*taharat*) and the performance of prayer, i.e. to cleanse the body from filth and pollution, and to wash the three members,[1] and to wipe the head with water as the law prescribes, or to use sand in the absence of water or in severe illness. Purification is of two kinds: outward and inward. Thus prayer requires purification of the body, and gnosis requires purification of the heart.As, in the former case, the water must be clean, so in the latter case unification must be pure and belief undefiled. The Sufis are always engaged in purification outwardly and in unification inwardly. The Apostle said to one of his Companions: "Be constant in ablution, that thy two guardian angels may love thee," and God hath said: "God loves those who often repent and those who purify themselves" (Qur.ii,222) And the Apostle used to say in his invocations: "O God, purify my heart from hypocrisy." Even consciousness of the miraculous grace (*karamat*) vouchsafed to him he regarded as an affirmation of other than God, for in unification it is hypocrisy (*nifaq*) to affirm other than God. So long as a disciple's eye is obscured by a single atom of the miracles of the Shaykhs, from the standpoint of perfection that atom is a potential veil (between him and God). Hence Abu Yazid said: "The hypocrisy of gnostics is better than the sincerity of disciples," i.e. that which is a "station" (maqam) to the novice is a veil to the adept. The novice desires to gain miracles, but the adept desires to gain the Giver of miracles. In short, the affirmation of miracles, or

of anything that involves the sight of other than God, appears hypocrisy to the people of the Truth (Sufis). Accordingly, what is noxious to the friends of God is a means of deliverance for all sinners, and what is noxious to sinners is a means of salvation for all infidels, because, if infidels knew, as sinners know, that their sins are displeasing to God, they would all be saved from infidelity; and if sinners knew, as the friends of God know, that all their actions are defective, they would all be saved from sin and purged of contamination. Therefore, outward and inward purification must go together; e.g., when a man washes his hands he must wash his heart clean of worldliness, and when he puts water in his mouth he must purify his mouth from the mention of other than God, and when he washes his face he must turn away from all familiar objects and turn towards God, and when he wipes his head he must resign his affairs to God, and when he washes his feet he must not form the intention of taking his stand on anything except according to the command of God. Thus he will be doubly purified. In all religious ordinances the external is combined with the internal; e.g. in faith, the tongue's profession with the heart's belief. The method of spiritual purification is to reflect and mediate on the evil of this world and to perceive that it is false and fleeting and to make the heart empty of it. This result can be attained only by much self-mortification (*mujahadah*), and the most important act of mortification is to observe the external rules of discipline (*adab-i zahir*) assiduously in all circumstances. It is related that Ibrahim Khawwas said: "I desire God to give me an everlasting life in this world, in order that, while mankind are engrossed in the pleasures of the world and forget God, I may observe the rules of religion amidst the affliction of the world and remember God." And it is related that Abu Tahir Harami lived forty years at Makkah, and went outside of the sacred territory whenever he purified himself, because he would not pour

the water which he had used for that purpose on ground that God head called His. When Ibrahim Khawwas was ill of dysentery in the congregational mosque at Rayy, he performed sixty complete ablutions in the course of a day and night, and he died in the water. Abu 'Ali Rudbari was for some time afflicted with distracting thoughts (*waswas*) in purification. "One day," he said, I went into the sea at dawn and stayed there till sunrise. During that interval my mind was troubled. I cried out: 'O God, restore me to spiritual health!' A voice answered from the sea: 'Health consists in knowledge.'" It is related that when Sufyan Thawri was dying, he purified himself sixty times for one prayer and said: "I shall at least be clean when I leave this world." They relate of Shibli that one day he purified himself with the intention of entering the mosque. He heard a voice cry: "Thou hast washed thy outward self, but where is thy inward purity?" He turned back and gave away all that he possessd, and during a year he put on no more clothes than were necessary for prayer. Then he came to Junayd, who said to him: "O Abu Bakr, that was a very beneficial purification which you have performed; may God always keep you purified!" After that, Shibli engaged in continual purification. When he was dying and could no longer purify himself, he made a sign to one of his disciples that he should purify him. The disciple did so, but forgot to let the water flow through his beard (*takhlil-i mahasin*). Shibli was unable to speak. He seized the disciple's hand and pointed to his beard, whereupon the rite was duly performed. And it is also related of him that he said: "Whenever I have neglected any rule of purification, some vain conceit has always arisen in my heart." And Abu Yazid said: "Whenever a thought of this world occurs to my mind, I perform a purification (*taharati*); and whenever a thought of the next world occurs to me, I perform a complete ablution (*ghusli*)," because this world is non-eternal (*muhdath*), and the result of thinking of it is legal

impurity (*hadath*), whereas the next world is the place of absence and repose (*ghaybat u aram*), and the result of thinking of it is pollution (*janabat*): hence legal impurity involves purification and pollution involves total ablution. One day shibli purified himself. When he came to the door of the mosque a voice whispered in his heart: "Art thou so pure that thou enterest My house with this boldness?" He turned back, but the voice asked: "Dost thou turn back from My door? Whither wilt thou go?" He uttered a loud cry. The voice said: "Dost thou revile me?" He stood silent. The voice said: "Dost thou pretend to endure My affliction?" Shibli exclaimed: "O God, I implore Thee to help me against Thyself."

The Sufi Shaykhs have fully discussed the true meaning of purification, and have commanded their disciples not to cease from purifying themselves both outwardly and inwardly. He who would serve God must purify himself outwardly with water, and he who would come nigh unto God must purify himself inwardly with repentance. Now I will explain the principles of repentance (tawbah) and its corollaries.

Chapter concerning Repentance and its Corollaries.

You must know that repentance (*tawbah*) is the first station of pilgrims on the way to the Truth, just as purification (*taharat*) is the first step of those who desire to serve God. Hence God hath said: "O believers, repent unto God with a sincere repentance" (Qur.lxvi,8). And the Apostle said, "There is nothing that God loves more than a youth who repents"; and he also said, "He who repents of sin is even as one who has no sin"; then he added, "When God loves a man, sin shall not hurt him," i.e. he will not become an infidel on account of sin, and his faith will not be impaired. Etymologically tawbah means "return", and

tawbah really involves the turning back from what God has forbidden through fear of what He has commanded. The Apostle said: "Penitence is the act of returning" (al-nadam al-tawbah). This saying comprises three things which are involved in tawbah, namely, (1) remorse for disobedience, (2) immediate abandonment of sin, and (3) determination not to sin again. As repentance (*tawbah*) involves these three conditions, so contrition (*nadamat*) maybe due to three causes: (1) fear of Divine chastisement and sorrow for evil actions, (2) desire of Divine favour and certainty that it cannot be gained by evil conduct and disobedience, (3) shame before God. In the first case the penitent is ta'ib, in the second case he is munib, in the third case he is awwab. Similarly, *tawbah* has three stations, viz., tawbah, through fear of Divine punishment; inabat, through desire of Divine reward; and *awbat*, for the sake of keeping the Divine command. Tawbah is the station of the mass of believers, and implies repentance from great sins (kabirah);[2] and inabat is the station of the saints and favourites of God (*awliya u muqarraban*);[3] and awbat is the station of the prophets and apostles.[4] Tawbah is to return from great sins to obedience; inabat is to return from minor sins to love; and awbat is to return from one's self to God. Repentance (tawbah) has its origin in the stern prohibitions of God and in the heart's being aroused from the slumber of heedlessness. When a man considers his evil conduct and abominable deeds he seeks deliverance there from, and God makes it easy for him to repent and leads him back to the sweetness of obedience. According to the opinion of orthodox Muslims and all the Sufi Shaykhs, a man who has repented of one sin may continue to commit other sins and nevertheless receive Divine recompense for having abstained from that one sin; and it maybe that through the blessing of that recompense he will abstain from other sins. But the Bahshami[5] sect of the Mu'tazilites hold that no one can properly be called repentant unless he avoids all great

sins, a doctrine which is absurd, because a man is not punished for the sins that he does not commit, but if he renounces a certain kind of sin he has no fear of being punished for sins of that particular kind: consequently, he is repentant. Similarly, if he performs some religious duties and neglects others, he will be rewarded for those which he performed and will be punished for those which he neglected. Moreover, if anyone should have repented of a sin which he has not the means of committing at the moment, he is repentant, because through that past repentance he has gained contrition (*nadamat*), which is a fundamental part of repentance (tawbah), and at the moment he has turned his back on that kind of sin and is resolved not to commit it again, even though he should have the power and means of doing so at some future time. As regards the nature and property of repentance, the Sufi Shaykhs hold diverse opinions. Sahl b. 'Abdullah (al-Tustari) and others believe that repentance consists in not forgetting your sins, but always regretting them, so that, although you have many good works to your credit, you will not be pleased with yourself on that account; since remorse for an evil action is superior to good works, and one who never forgets his sins will never become conceited. Junayd and others take the opposite view, that repentance consists in forgetting the sin. They argue that the penitent is a lover of God, and the lover of God is in contemplation of God, and in contemplation it is wrong to remember sin, for remembrance of sin is a veil between God and those who contemplate Him. This controversy goes back to the difference of opinion concerning mortification (*mujahadah*) and contemplation (mushahadah), which has been discussed in my account of the doctrine of the Sahlis. Those who hold the penitent to be self-dependent regard his forgetfulness of sin as heedlessness, while those who hold that he is dependent on God deem his remembrance of sin to be polytheism.

answered, saying: "Thou didst obey Me and I recompensed thee, then thou didst abandon Me and I showed indulgence towards thee; and if thou wilt return to Me, I will receive thee."

SECTION

Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian says: "Ordinary men repent of their sins but the elect repent of their outward behaviour, but the elect shall be questioned concerning the real nature of their conduct. Heedlessness, which to ordinary men is a pleasure, is a veil to the elect. Abu Hafs Haddad says: "Man has no part in repentance, because repentance is from God to Man, not from Man to God." According to this saying, repentance is not acquired by Man, but is one of God's gifts, a doctrine which is closely akin to that of Junayd. Abu 'l-Hasan Bushanji says: "When you feel no delight in remembering a sin, that is repentance," because the recollection of a sin is accompanied either by regret or by desire: one who regrets that he has committed a sin is repentant, whereas one who desires to commit a sin is a sinner. The actual sin is not so evil as the desire of it, for the act is momentary, but the desire is perpetual. Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian says: "There are two kinds of repentance, the repentance of return (*tawbah al-inabat*) and the repentance of shame (*tawbah al-istihya*): the former is repentance through fear of Divine punishment, the latter is repentance through shame of Divine clemency." The repentance of fear is caused by revelation of God's majesty, while the repentance of shame is caused by vision of God's beauty. Those who feel shame are intoxicated, and those who feel fear are sober.

1 The face, hands, and feet.
2 Cf. Qur. lxvi, 8.
3 Cf. Qur. 1, 32.
4 Cf. Qur. xxxviii, 44.
5 Text, See Shahristani, Haarbrucker's translation, I, 80.
6 Nafahat, No.281.

CHAPTER XIX

THE UNCOVERING OF THE FIFTH VEIL: CONCERNING PRAYER (*al-salat*)

Etymologically, prayer (*namaz*) means remembrance (of God) and submissiveness (*dhikr u inqiyad*), but in the correct usage of lawyers the term is specially applied to the five prayers which God has ordered to be performed at five different times, and which involve certain preliminary conditions, viz.: (1) purification outwardly from filth and inwardly from lust; (2) that one's outward garment should be clean and one's inner garment undefiled by anything unlawful; (3) that the place where one purifies one's self should be outwardly free from contamination and inwardly free from corruptness and sin; (4) turning towards the *qibla*, the outward *qibla* being the Ka'bah and the inward *qibla* being the Throne of God, by which is meant the mystery of Divine contemplation; (5) standing outwardly in the state of power (*qudrat*) and inwardly in the garden of proximity to God (*qurbat*); (6) sincere intention to approach unto God; (7) saying "*Allah-o-akbar*" in the station of awe and annihilation, and standing in the abode of union, and reciting the Quran distinctly and reverently, and bowing the head with humility, and prostrating one's self with abasement, and making the profession of faith with concentration, and saluting with annihilation of one's attributes. It is recorded in the Traditions that when the Apostle prayed, there was heard within him a sound like the boiling of a kettle. And when 'Ali was about to pray, his hair stood on end and he trembled and said: "The hour has come to fulfil a trust which the heavens and the earth were unable to bear."[1]

SECTION

Prayer is a term in which novices find the whole way to God, from beginning to end, and in which their stations (*maqamat*) are revealed. Thus, for novices, purification takes the place of repentance, and dependence on a spiritual director takes the place of ascertaining the *qiblah*, and standing in prayer takes the place of self-mortification, and reciting the Quran takes the place of inward meditation (*dhikr*), and bowing the head takes the place of humility, and prostration takes the place of self-knowledge, and profession of faith takes the place of intimacy (*uns*), and salutation takes the place of detachment from the world and escape from the bondage of "stations". Hence, when the Apostle became divested of all feelings of delight (*masharib*) in complete bewilderment, he used to say: "O Bilal, comfort us by the call to prayer." The Sufi Shaykhs have discussed this matter and each of them occupies a position of his own. Some hold that prayer is a means of obtaining "presence" with God (*hudur*), and others regard it as a means of obtaining "absence" (*ghaybat*); some who have been "absent" become "present" in prayer, while others who have been "present" become "absent". Similarly, in the next world where God is seen, some who are "absent", when they see God shall become "present", and *vice versa*. I,'Ali b.'Uthman al-Jullabi, assert that prayer is a Divine command and is not a means of obtaining either "presence" or "absence", because a Divine command is not a means to anything. The cause of "presence" is "presence" itself, and the cause of "absence" is "absence" itself. If prayer were the cause or means of "presence", it could be performed only by one who was "present", and if it were the cause of "absence", one who was "absent" would necessarily become "present" by neglecting to perform it.But inasmuch as it must be performed by all, whether

they be "present" or "absent", prayer is sovereign in its essence and independent.

Prayer is mostly performed and prescribed by those who are engaged in self-mortification or who have attained to steadfastness (*istiqamat*). Thus the Shaykhs order their disciples to perform four hundred bowings in prayer during a day and night, that their bodies maybe habituated to devotion; and the steadfast likewise perform many prayers in thanks giving for the favour which God has bestowed upon them. As regards those who possess "states" (*arbab-i ahwal*), their prayers, in the perfection of ecstasy, correspond to the "station" of union, so that through their prayers they become united; or again, when ecstasy is withdrawn,their prayers correspond to the "station" of separation, so that thereby they become separated. The former, who are united in their prayers, pray by day and night and add supererogatory prayers to those which are incumbent on them, but the latter, who are separated, perform no more prayers than they need. The Apostle said: "In prayer lies my delight," because prayer is a source of joy to the steadfast. When the Apostle was brought nigh unto God on the night of the Ascension, and his soul was loosed from the fetters of phenomenal being, and his spirit lost consciousness of all degrees and stations, and his natural powers were annihilated, he said, not of his own will, but inspired by longing: "O God, do not transport me to yonder world of affliction! Do not throw me under the sway of nature and passion!" God answered: "It is My decree that thou shalt return to the world for the sake of establishing the religious law, in order that I may give thee there what I have given thee here." When he returned to this world, he used to say as often as he felt a longing for that exalted station: O Bilal, comfort us by the call to prayer!" Thus to him every time of prayer was an Ascension and a new nearness to God. Sahl b. 'Abdullah

says: "It is a sign of a man's sincerity that he has an attendant angel who urges him to pray when the hour of prayer is come, and wakes him if he be asleep." This mark (of sincerity) was apparent in Sahl himself, for although he had become palsied in his old age he used to recover the use of his limbs whenever the hour of prayer arrived; and after having performed his prayers he was unable to move from his place. One of the Shaykhs says: "Four things are necessary to him who prays: annihilation of the lower soul (*nafs*), loss of the natural powers, purity of the inmost heart, and perfect contemplation." Annihilation of the lower soul is to be attained only by concentration of thought; loss of the natural powers only by affirmation of the Divine majesty, which involves the destruction of all that is other than God; purity of the inmost heart only by love; and perfect contemplation only by purity of the inmost heart. It is related that Husayn b. Mansur (al-Hallaj) used to lay upon himself the obligation of performing four hundred bowings of prayer in a day and a night. On being asked why he took so much trouble in the high degree which he enjoyed, he answered: "Pain and pleasure indicate your feelings, but those whose attributes are annihilated feel no effect either of pleasure or of pain. Beware lest you call remissness maturity and desire of the world search for God." A certain man relates: "I was praying behind Dhu 'l-Nun.When he began to pronounce the *takbir*, he cried '*Allah-o-akbar*' and fell in a swoon like a lifeless body." Junayd, after he had grown old, did not omit any item of the litanies (awrad) of his youth. When he was urged to refrain from some of these supererogatory acts of devotion to which his strength was unequal, he replied that he could not abandon at the last those exercises which had been the means of his acquiring spiritual welfare at the first. It is well known that the angels are ceaselessly engaged in worship, because they are spiritual and have no lower soul (*nafs*). The lower soul deters men from obedience, and the

more it is subdued the more easy does the performance of worship become; and when it is entirely annihilated, worship becomes the food and drink of Man, even as it is the food and drink of the angels. ‘Abdullah b. Mubarak says: "In my boyhood I remeber seeing a female ascetic who was bitten by a scorpion in forty places while she was praying, but no change of expression was visible in her countenance. When she had finished, I said: 'O mother, why didst not thou fling the scorpion away from thee?' She answered: 'Ignorant boy! dost thou deem it right that while I am engaged in God's business I should attend to my own?'"

Abu 'l-Khayr Aqta[2] had a gangrene in his foot. The physicians declared that his foot must be amputated, but he would not allow this to be done. His disciples said: "Cut it off while he is praying, for at that time he is unconscious." The physicians acted on this advice. When Abu 'l-Khayr finished his prayers he found that his foot had been amputated.[3]

Some Sufis perform obligatory acts of devotion openly, but conceal those which are supererogatory in order that they may escape from ostentation (*riya*). Anyone (they say) who desires that others should take notice of his religious practices becomes a hypocrite; and if he says that although other people see his devotions he himself is unconscious of them, that too is hypocrisy. Other Sufis, however, exhibit both their obligatory and supererogatory acts of devotion, on the ground that ostentation is unreal and piety real: therefore, it is absurd to hide reality for the sake of unreality. "Do not let any thought of ostentation (they say) enter your heart, and worship God wherever you will." The Shaykhs have observed the true spirit of the rules of devotional practice, and have enjoined their disciples to do the same. One of them says: "I travelled for forty years,

and during that time I did not miss a single public service of prayer, but was in some town every Friday."

The corollaries of prayer belong to the stations of love, of which I will now set forth the principles in full.

Chapter concerning Love and matters connected therewith.

God hath said, "O believers, whosoever among you apostatize from their religion, God will assuredly bring in their stead a people whom He will love and who will love Him" (Qur.v,59); and He hath also said, "Some men take idols beside God and love them as they love God, but the believers love God best" (Qur.ii,160).And the Apostle said: "I heard Gabriel say that God said, 'Whoever despises any of My friends has declared war against Me. I do not hesitate in anything as I hesitate to seize the soul of My faithful servant who dislikes death and whom I dislike to hurt, but he cannot escape therefrom; and no means whereby My servant seeks My favour is more pleasing to Me than the performance of the obligations which I have laid upon him; and My servant continuously seeks My favour by works of supererogation until I love him, and when I love him I am his hearing and his sight and his hand and his helper.'" And the Apostle also said, "God loves to meet those who love to meet Him, and dislikes to meet those who dislike to meet Him"; and again, "When God loves a man He says to Gabriel, 'O Gabriel, I love such and such a one, so do thou love him'; then Gabriel loves him and says to the dwellers in Heaven, 'God loves such and such a one,' and they love him too; then he bestows on him favour in the earth, so that he is loved by the inhabitants of the earth; and as it happens with regard to love, so does it happen with regard to hate."

Mahabbat (love) is said to be derived from *hibbat*, which are seeds that fall to the earth in the desert. The name *hubb* (love) was given to such desert seeds (*hibb*), because love is the source of life just as seeds are the origin of plants. As, when the seeds are scattered in the desert, they become hidden in the earth, and rain falls upon them and the sun shines upon them and cold and heat pass over them, yet they are not corrupted by the changing seasons, but grow up and bear flowers and give fruit, so love, when it takes its dwelling in the heart, is not corrupted by presence or absence, by pleasure or pain, by separation or union. Others say that *mahabbat* is derived from *hubb*, meaning "a jar full of stagnant water", because when love is collected in the heart and fills it, there is no room there for any thought except of the beloved, as Shibli says: "Love is called *mahabbat* because it obliterates (*tamhu*) from the heart everything except the beloved." Others say that *mahabbat* is derived from *hubb*, meaning "the four conjoined pieces of wood on which a water jug is placed, because a lover lightly bears whatever his beloved metes out to him -- honour or disgrace, pain or pleasure, fair treatment or foul". According to others, *mahabbat* is derived from habb, the plural of *habbat*, and *habbat* is the core of the heart, where love resides. In this case, mahabbat is called by the name of its dwelling place, a principle of which there are numerous examples in Arabic. Others derive it from habab, "bubbles of water and the effervescence thereof in a heavy rainfall," because love is the effervescence of the heart in longing for union with the beloved. As the body subsists through the spirit, so the heart subsists through love, and love subsists through vision of, and union with, the beloved. Others, again, declare that *hubb* is a name applied to pure love, because the Arabs call the pure white of the human eye *habbat al-insan*, just as they call the pure black (core) of the heart habbat al-qalb: the latter is the seat of love, the former of

vision. Hence the heart and the eye are rivals in love, as the poet says:

"My heart envies mine eye the pleasure of seeing,
And mine eye envies my heart the pleasure of meditating."

SECTION

You must know that the term "love (*mahabbat*) is used by theologians in three significations. Firstly,as meaning restless desire for the object of love, and inclination and passion, in which sense it refers only to created beings and their mutual affection towards one another, but cannot be applied to God, who is exalted far above anything of this sort. Secondly, as meaning God's beneficence and His conferment of special privileges on those whom He chooses and causes to attain the perfection of saintship and peculiarly distinguishes by diverse kinds of His miraculous grace. Thirdly, as meaning praise which God bestows on a man for a good action (*thana-yi jamil*).[4]

Some scholastic philosophers say that God's love, which He has made known to us, belongs to those traditional attributes, like His face and His hand and His settling Himself firmly on His throne (*istiwa*), of which the existence from the standpoint of reason would appear to be impossible if they had not been proclaimed as Divine attributes inthe Quran and the Sunnahh. Therefore we affirm them and believe in them, but suspend our own judgment concerning them. These scholastics mean to deny that the term "love" can be applied to God in all the senses which I have mentioned. I will now explain to you the truth of this matter.

God's love of Man is His good will towards him and

as a veil (between themselves and God) and by regarding the Benefactor are led to (consciousness of) His favours. The latter way is the more exalted of the two.

SECTION

Among the Sufi Shaykhs Sumnun al-Muhibb holds a peculiar doctrine concerning love. He asserts that love is the foundation and principle of the way to God, that all "states" and "stations" are stages of love, and that every stage and abode in which the seeker maybe admits of destruction, except the abode of love, which is not destructible in any circumstances so long as the way itself remains in existence. All the other Shaykhs agree with him in this matter, but since the term "love" is current and well known, and they wished the doctrine of Divine love to remain hidden, instead of calling it "love" they gave it the name of "purity" (*safwat*), and the lover they called "Sufi"; or they used the word "poverty" (*faqr*) to denote the renunciation of the lover's personal will in his affirmation of the Beloved's will, and they called the lover "poor" (*faqir*). I have explained the theory of "purity" and "poverty" in the beginning of this book.

'Amr b."Uthman Makki says in the *Kitab-i Mahabbat* [5] that God created the souls (*dilha*) seven thousand years before the bodies and kept them in the station of proximity (*qurb*), and that he created the spirits (*janha*) seven thousand years before the souls and kept them in the degree of intimacy (*uns*), and that he created the hearts (*sirrha*) seven thousand years before the spirits and kept them in the degree of union (*wasl*), and revealed the epiphany of His beauty to the heart three hundred and sixty times every day and bestowed on it three hundred and sixty looks of grace, and He caused the spirits to hear the word of love and

manifested three hundred and sixty exquisite favours of intimacy to the soul, so that they all surveyed the phenomenal universe and saw nothing more precious than themselves and were filled with vanity and pride. Therefore God subjected them to probation: He imprisoned the heart in the spirit and the spirit in the soul and the soul in the body; then He mingled reason (*'aql*) with them, and sent prophets and gave commands; then each of them began to seek its original station. God ordered them to pray. The body betook itself to prayer, the soul attained to love, the spirit arrived at proximity to God, and the heart found rest in union with Him. The explanation of love is not love, because love is a feeling (*hal*), and feelings are never mere words (*qal*). If the whole world wished to attract love, they could not; and if they made the utmost efforts to repel it, they could not. Love is a Divine gift, not anything that can be acquired.

SECTION

Concerning excessive love (*'ishq*) there is much controversy among the Shaykhs. Some Sufis hold that excessive love towards God is allowable, but that it does not proceed from God. Such love, they say, is the attribute of one who is debarred from his beloved, and Man is debarred from God, but God is not debarred from Man: therefore Man may love God excessively, but the term is not applicable to God. Others, again, take the view that God cannot be the object of Man's excessive love, because such love involves a passing beyond limits, whereas God is not limited. The moderns assert that excessive love, in this world and the next, is properly applied only to the desire of attaining the essence, and inasmuch as the essence of God is not attainable, the term ('ishq) is not rightly used in reference to Man's love towards God, although the terms "love" (*mahabbat*) and "pure love" (*safwat*) are correct.

They say, moreover, that while love (*mahabbat*) maybe produced by hearing, excessive love (*'ishq*) cannot possibly arise without actual vision: therefore it cannot be felt towards God, who is not seen in this world. The essence of God is not attainable or perceptible, that Man should be able to feel excessive love towards Him; but Man feels love (*mahabbat*) towards God, because God, through His attributes and actions, is a gracious benefactor to His friends. Since Jacob was absorbed in love (*mahabbat*) for Joseph, from whom he was separated, his eyes became bright and clear as soon as he smelt Joseph's shirt; but since Zulaykha was ready to die on account of her excessive love (*ishq*) for Joseph, her eyes were not opened until she was united with him. It has also been said that excessive love is applicable to God, on the ground that neither God nor excessive love has any opposite.

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I will now mention a few of the innumerable indications which the Sufi Shaykhs have given as to the true nature of love. Master Abu 'l-Qasim Qushayri says: "Love is the effacement of the lover's attributes and the establishment of the Beloved's essence," i.e.since the Beloved is subsistent (*baqi*) and the lover is annihilated (*fani*) the jealousy of love requires that the lover should make the subsistence of the Beloved absolute by negating himself, and he cannot negate his own attributes except by affirming the essence of the Beloved. No lover can stand by his own attributes, for in that case he would not need the Beloved's beauty; but when he knows that his life depends on the Beloved's beauty, he necessarily seeks to annihilate his own attributes, which veil him from his Beloved; and thus in love for his Friend he becomes an enemy to himself. It is well known that the last words of Husayn b. Mansur (*al-Hallaj*) on the scaffold were *Hasb al-wajid ifrad al-*

wahid, "It is enough for the lover that he should make the One single," i.e. that his existence should be cleared away from the path of love and that the dominion of his lower soul should be utterly destroyed. Abu Yazid Bistami says: "Love consists in regarding your own much as little and your Beloved's little as much." This is how God Himself deals with His servants, for He calls "little" that which He has given to them in this world (Qur.iv,79), but calls their praise of Him "much' - "the men and women who praise God much" (Qur.xxxiii,35) - in order that all His creatures may know that He is the real Beloved, because nothing is little that God bestows on Man, and all is little that Man offers to God. Sahl b. 'Abdullah al-Tustari says: "Love consists in embracing acts of obedience (*mu'anaqat al-ta'at*) and in avoiding acts of disobedience," because a man performs the command of his beloved more easily in proportion to the strength of love in his heart. This is a refutation of those heretics who declare that a man may attain to such a degree of love that obedience is no longer required of him, a doctrine which is sheer heresy. It is impossible that any person, while his understanding is sound, should be relieved of his religious obligations, because the law of Muhammad will never be abrogated, and if one such person maybe thus relieved why not all? The case of persons overcome with rapture (*maghlub*) and idiots (ma'tuh) is different. It is possible, however, that God in His love should bring a man to such a degree that it costs him no trouble to perform his religious duties, because the more one loves Him who gives the command the less trouble will he have in executing it. When the Apostle abandoned himself entirely to devotion both by day and night, so that his blessed feet became swollen, God said: "We have not sent down the Quran to thee in order that thou shouldst be miserable" (Qur.xx,1). And it is also possible that one should be relieved of the consciousness of performing the Divine commands, as the Apostle said:

His having mercy on him. Love is one of the names of His will (iradah), like "satisfaction", "anger", "mercy", etc., and His will is an eternal attribute whereby He wills His actions. In short, God's love towards Man consists in showing much favour to him, and giving him a recompense in this world and the next, and making him secure from punishment and keeping him safe from sin, and bestowing on him lofty "states" and exalted "stations" and causing him to turn his thoughts away from all that is other than God. When God peculiarly distinguishes anyone in this way,that specialization of His will is called love. This is the doctrine of Harith Muhasibi and Junayd and a large number of the Sufi Shaykhs as well as of the lawyers belonging to both the sects; and most of the Sunni scholastics hold the same opinion. As regards their assertion that Divine love is "praise given to a man for a good action" (*thana-yi jamil bar banda*), God's praise is His word (*kalam*), which is uncreated; and as regards their assertion that Divine love means "beneficence", His beneficience consists in His actions. Hence the different views are substantially in close relation to each other.

Man's love towards God is a quality which manifests itself in the heart of the pious believer, in the form of veneration and magnification, so that he seeks to satisfy his Beloved and becomes impatient and restless in his desire for vision of Him, and cannot rest with anyone except Him, and grows familiar with the remembrance (*dhikr*) of Him, and abjures the remembrance of everything besides. Repose becomes unlawful to him and rest flees from him. He is cut off from all habits and associations, and renounces sensual passion and turns towards the court of love and submits to the law of love and knows God by His attributes of perfection. It is impossible that Man's love of God should be similar in kind to the love of His creatures towards one another, for the former is desire to comprehend

and attain the beloved object, while the latter is a property of bodies. The lovers of God are those who devote themselves to death in nearness to Him, not those who seek His nature (*kayfiyyat*), because the seeker stands by himself, but he who devotes himself to death (*mustahlik*) stands by his Beloved; and the truest lovers are they who would fain die thus, and are overpowered, because a phenomenal being has no means of approaching the Eternal save through the omnipotence of the Eternal. He who knows what is real love feels no more difficulties, and all his doubts depart. Love, then, is of two kinds - (1) the love of like towards like, which is a desire instigated by the lower soul and which seeks the essence (*dhat*) of the beloved object by means of sexual intercourse; (2) the love of one who is unlike the object of his love and who seeks to become intimately attached to an attribute of that object, e.g. hearing without speech or seeing without eye. And believers who love God are of two kinds -- (1) those who regard the favour and beneficence of God towards them, and are led by that regard to love the Benefactor; (2) those who are so enraptured by love that they reckon all favours "Verily, a veil is drawn over my heart, and I ask forgiveness of God seventy times daily," i.e. he asked to be forgiven for his actions, because he was not regarding himself and his actions, that he should be pleased with his obedience, but was paying regard to the majesty of God's command and was thinking that his actions were not worthy of God's acceptance. Sumnun Muhibb says: "The lovers of God have borne away the glory of this world and the next, for the Prophet said, 'A man is with the object of his love.'" Therefore they are with God in both worlds, and those who are with God can do no wrong. The glory of this world is God's being with them, and the glory of the next world is their being with God. Yahya b. Mu'adh al-Razi says: "Real love is neither diminished by unkindness nor increased by kindness and bounty," because in love both

kindness and unkindness are causes, and the cause of a thing is reduced to nothing when the thing itself actually exists. A lover delights in the affliction that his beloved makes him suffer, and having love he regards kindness and unkindness with the same indifference. The story is well known how Shibli was supposed to be insane and was confined in a madhouse. Some persons came to visit him. "Who are you?" he asked. They answered: "The friends," whereupon he pelted them with stones and put them to flight. Then he said: "Had you been my friends, you would not have fled from my affliction."

1 Here the author cites a description given by Hatim al-Asamm of his manner of praying.
2 Nafahat, No.259.
3 Here follows a story, already related in the notice of Abu Bakr (p.70), concerning the different manner in which Abu Bakr and 'Umar recited the Qoran when they performed their prayers.
4 Cf. Qushayri (Cairo, 1318 A.H.), 170, 14 sqq.
5 "The Book of Love."

CHAPTER XX

THE UNCOVERING OF THE SIXTH VEIL: CONCERNING ALMS (*al-zakat*)

Alms is one of the obligatory ordinances of the faith. It becomes due on the completion of a benefit; e.g., two hundred dirhems constitute a complete benefit (ni'mati tamam), and anyone who is in possession of that sum ought to pay five dirhems; or if he possesses twenty dinars he ought to pay half a dinar; or if he possesses five camels he ought to pay one sheep, and so forth. Alms is also due on account of dignity (*jah*), because that too is a complete benefit. The Apostle said: "Verily, God has made it incumbent upon you to pay the alms of your dignity, even as He has made it incumbent upon you to pay the alms of your property"; and he said also: "Everything has its alms, and the alms of a house is the guest-room."

Alms is really thanks giving for a benefit received, the thanks being similar in kind to the benefit. Thus health is a great blessing, for which every limb owes alms. Therefore healthy persons ought to occupy all their limbs with devotion and not yield them to pleasure and pastime, in order that the alms due for the blessing of health maybe fully paid. Moreover, there is an alms for every spiritual blessing, namely, outward and inward acknowledgment of that blessing in proportion to its worth. Thus, when a man knows that the blessings bestowed upon him by God are infinite, he should render infinite thanks by way of alms. The Sufis do not consider it praiseworthy to give alms on account of worldly blessings, because they disapprove of avarice, and a man must needs be extremely avaricious to keep two hundred dirhems in his possession for a whole

year and then give away five dirhems in alms. Since it is the custom of the generous to lavish their wealth, and since they are disposed to be liberal, how should alms giving be incumbent upon them?

I have read in the Anecdotes that a certain formal theologian, wishing to make trial of Shibli, asked him what sum ought to be given in alms. Shibli replied: "Where avarice is present and property exists, five dirhems out of every two hundred dirhems, and half a dinar out of every twenty dinars. That is according to thy doctrine; but according to mine, a man ought not to possess anything, in which case he will be saved from the trouble of giving alms." The divine asked: "Whose authority do you follow in this matter?" Shibli said: "The authority of Abu Bakr the Veracious, who gave away all that he possessed, and on being asked by the Apostle what he had left behind for his family, answered, God and His Apostle. And it is related that 'Ali said in an ode :--

"Almsgivng is not incumbent on me,
For how can a generous man be required to give alms?"

But it is absurd for anyone to cultivate ignorance and to say that because he has no property he need not be acquainted with the theory of almsgiving. To learn and obtain knowledge is an essential obligation, and to profess one's self independent of knowledge is mere infidelity. It is one of the evils of the present age that many who pretend to be pious dervishes reject knowledge in favour of ignorance. The author says: "Once I was giving devotional instruction to some novices in Sufi'ism and was discussing the chapter on the poor rate of camels (*sadaqat al-ibil*) and explaining the rules in regard to she-camels that have entered on their third or second or fourth year (*bint-i labun u bint-i makhad*

u hiqqa). An ignorant fellow, tired of listening to my discourse, rose and said: 'I have no camels: what use in this knowledge to me?' I answered: 'Knowledge is necessary in taking alms no less than in giving alms: if anyone should give you a she-camel in her third year and you should accept her, you ought to be informed on this point; and even though one has no propety and does not want to have any property, he is not thereby relieved from the obligation of knowledge.'"

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Some of the Sufi Shaykhs have accepted alms, while others have declined to do so. Those whose poverty is voluntary (*ba-ikhtiyar*) belong to the latter class. "We do not amass property," they say, "therefore we need not give alms; nor will we accept alms from worldlings, lest they should have the upper hand (*yad-i 'ulya*) and we the lower (*yad-i sufla*)." But those who in their poverty are under Divine compulsion (*mudtarr*) accept alms, not for their own wants but with the purpose of relieving a brother Muslim of his obligation. In this case the receiver of alms, not the giver, has the upper hand; otherwise, the words of God, "And He accepteth the alms" (Qur.ix,105), are meaningless, and the giver of alms must be superior to the receiver, a belief which is utterly false. No: the upper hand belongs to him who takes something from a brother Muslim in order that the latter may escape from a heavy responsibility. Dervishes are not of this world (*dunya'i*), but of the next world ('uqba'i), and if a dervish fails to relieve a worldling of his responsibility, the worldling will be held accountable and punished at the Resurrection for having neglected to fulfil his obligation. Therefore God afflicts the dervish with a slight want in order that worldlings maybe able to perform what is incumbent upon them. The upper hand is necessarily the hand of the dervish who receives

alms in accordance with the requirement of the law, because it behoves him to take that which is due to God. If the hand of the recipient were the lower hand, as some anthropomorphists (*ahl-i hashw*) declare, then the hands of the Apostles, who often received alms due to God and delivered it to the proper authority, must have been lower (than the hands of those who gave the alms to them). This view is erroneous; its adherents do not see that the Apostles received alms in consequence of the Divine command. The religious Imams have acted in the same manner as the Apostles, for they have always received payments due to the public treasury. Those are in the wrong who assert that the hand of the receiver is the lower and that of the giver is the higher.

Chapter on Liberality and Generosity

In the opinion of theologians liberality (*jud*) and generosity (*sakha*), when regarded as human attributes, are synonymous; but God, although He is called liberal (*jawad*), is not called generous (*sakhi*), because He has not called Himself by the latter name, nor is He so called in any Apostolic Tradition. All orthodox Muslims are agreed that it is not allowable to apply to God any name that is not proclaimed in the Quran and the Sunnahh: thus He maybe called knowing ('alim), but not intelligent (*'aqil*)or wise (*faqih*), although the three terms bear the same signification. Hence God is called liberal, since that name is accompanied by His blessing; and He is not called generous, since that name lacks His blessing. Men have made a distinction between liberality (*jud*) and generosity (*sakha*), and have said that the generous man discriminates in his liberality, and that his actions are connected with a selfish motive (*gharad*) and a cause (*sabab*). This is a rudimentary stage in liberality, for the liberal man does not discriminate, and his actions are devoid of self-interest and

without any secondary cause. These two qualities were exhibited by two Apostles, viz., Abraham, the Friend of God (*Khalil*), and Muhammad, the Beloved of God (*Habib*). It is related in the genuine Traditions that Abraham was accustomed not to eat anything until a guest came to him. Once, after three days had passed without the arrival of a guest, a fire worshipper appeared at the door, but Abraham, on hearing who he was, refused to give him entertainment. God reproached him on this account, saying: "Wilt not thou give a piece of bread to one whom I have nourished for seventy years?" But Muhammad, when the son of Hatim visited him, spread his own mantle on the ground for him and said: "Honour the noble chieftain of a people when he comes to you." Abraham's position was generosity, but our Apostle's was liberality.

The best rule in this matter is set forth in the maxim that liberality consists in following one's first thought, and that it is a sign of avarice when the second thought prevails over the first; for the first thought is unquestionably from God. I have read that at Nishapur there was a merchant who used regularly to attend the meetings held by Shaykh Abu Said. One day a dervish who was present begged the Shaykh to give him something. The merchant had a dinar and a small piece of clipped money (*qurada*). His first thought was: "I will give the dinar," but on second thoughts he gave the clipped piece. When the Shaykh finished his discourse the merchant asked: "Is it right for anyone to contend with God?" The Shaykh answered: "You contended with Him: He bade you give the dinar, but you gave the clipping." I have also read that Shaykh Abu Abdullah Rudbari came to the house of a disciple in his absence, and ordered that all the effects in the house should be taken to the bazaar. When the disciple returned he was delighted that the Shaykh had behaved with such freedom, but he said nothing. His wife, however, tore off her dress

and flung it down, saying: "This belongs to the effects of the house." The husband exclaimed: "You are doing more than is necessary and showing self-will." "O husband," said she, "what the Shaykh did was the result of his liberality: we too must exert ourselves (*takalluf kunim*) to display liberality." "Yes", replied the husband, "but if we allow the Shaykh to be liberal, that is real liberality in us, whereas liberality, regarded as a human quality, is forced and unreal." A disciple ought always to sacrifice his property and himself in obedience to the command of God. Hence Sahl b. ‘Abdullah (al-Tustari) said: "The Sufis blood maybe shed with impunity, and his property maybe seized." I have heard the following story of Shaykh Abu Muslim Farisi: "Once (he said) I set out with a number of people for the Hijaz. In the neighbourhood of Hulwan we were attacked by Kurds, who stripped us of our patched frocks. We offered no resistance. One man, however, became greatly excited, whereupon a Kurd drew his scimitar and killed him, notwithstanding our entreaties that his life might be spared. On our asking why he had killed him he answered: 'Because he is no Sufi and acts disloyally in the company of saints: such a one is better dead.' We said: 'How so?' He replied: 'The first step in Sufi'ism is liberality. This fellow, who was so desperately attached to these rags that he quarrelled with his own friends, how should he be a Sufi? His own friends, I say, for it is a long time since we have been doing as you do, and plundering you and stripping you of worldly encumbrances.'"[1] A man came to the house of Hasan b. 'Ali and said that he owed four hundred dirhems. Hasan gave him four hundred dinars and went into the house, weeping. They asked him why he wept. He answered: "I have been remiss in making inquiry into the circumstances of this man, and have reduced him to the humiliation of begging." Abu Sahl Su'luki never put alms into the hand of a dervish, and always used to lay on the ground anything that he gave. "Worldly goods," he said,

"are too worthless to be placed in the hand of a Muslim, so that my hand should be the upper and his the lower."[2] I once met a dervish to whom a Sultan had sent three hundred drachms of pure gold. He went to a bath house, and gave the whole sum to the superintendent and immediately departed. I have already discussed the subject of liberality in the chapter on preference (*ithar*), where I have dealt with the doctrine of the Nuris.

1 Here follows a story of 'Abdullah b. Ja'far and an Abyssinian slave, who let a dog eat the whole of his daily portion of food.
2 Here the author relates three short anecdotes illustrating the liberality of Muhammad.

CHAPTER XXI

THE UNCOVERING OF THE SEVENTH VEIL: ON FASTING (*al-sawm*)

God hath said: "O believers, fasting is prescribed unto you" (Qur.ii,179) And the Apostle said that he was informed by Gabriel that God said: "Fasting is mine, and I have the best right to give recompense for it" (*al-sawm li wa-ana ajza bihi*),[1] because the religious practice of fasting is a mystery unconnected with any external thing, a mystery in which none other than God participates: hence its recompense is infinite. It has been said that mankind enter Paradise through God's mercy, and that their rank therein depends on their religious devotion, and that their abiding therein for ever is the recompense of their fasting, because God said: "I have the best right to give recompense for it." Junayd said: "Fasting is half of the Way." I have seen Shaykhs who fasted without intermission, and others who fasted only during the month of Ramadan: the former were seeking recompense, and the latter were renouncing self will and ostentation. Again, I have seen others who fasted and were not conscious of anyone and ate only when food was set before them. This is more in accordance with the Sunnah. It is related that the Apostle came to 'A'isha and Hafsa, who said to him: "We have kept some dates and butter (hays) for thee." "Bring it," said he; "I was intending to fast, but I will fast another day instead." I have seen others who fasted on the "white days" (from the 13th to the 15th of every month), and on the ten (last nights) of the blessed month (Ramadan), and also during Rajab, Sha'ban, and Ramadan. Others I have seen who observed the fast of David, which the Apostle called the best of fasts, i.e. they fasted one day and broke their fast the next day. Once I

came into the presence of Shaykh Ahmad Bukhari. He had a dish of sweetmeat (*halwa*) before him, from which he was eating, and he made a sign to me that I should do the same.As is the way of young men, I answered (without consideration) that I was fasting. He asked why. I said: "In conformity with such and such a one" He said: "It is not right for human beings to conform with human beings." I was about to break my fast, but he said: "Since you wish to be quit of conformity with him, do not conform with me, for I too am a human being." Fasting is really abstinence, and this includes the whole method of Sufi'ism (tariqat). The least degree in fasting is hunger, which is God's food on earth, and is universally commended in the eye of the law and of reason. One month's continual fasting is incumbent on every reasonable Muslim who has attained to manhood. The fast begins on the appearance of the moon of Ramadan, and continues until the appearance of the moon of Shawwal, and for every day a sincere intention and firm obligation are necessary. Abstinence involves many obligations, e.g. keeping the belly without food and drink, and guarding the eye from lustful looks, and the ear from listening to evil speech about anyone in his absence, and the tongue from vain or foul words, and the body from following after worldly things and disobedience to God. One who acts in this manner is truly keeping his fast, for the Apostle said to a certain man, "When you fast, let your ear fast and your eye and your tongue and your hand and every limb;" and he also said, "Many a one has no good of his fasting except hunger and thirst."

I dreamed that I saw the Apostle and asked him to give me a word of counsel, and that he replied: "Imprison thy tongue and they senses." To imprison the senses is complete self-mortification, because all kinds of knowledge are acquired through the five senses: sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. Four of the senses have a particular locus,

but the fifth, namely touch, is spread over the whole body. Everything that becomes known to human beings passes through these five doors, except intuitive knowledge and Divine inspiration, and in each sense there is a purity and an impurity; for, just as they are open to knowledge, reason, and spirit, so they are open to imagination and passion, being organs which partake of piety and sin and of felicity and misery. Therefore it behoves him who is keeping a fast to imprison all the senses in order that they may return from disobedience to obedience. To abstain only from food and drink is child's play. One must abstain from idle pleasures and unlawful acts, not from eating lawful food. I marvel at those who say that they are keeping a voluntary fast and yet fail to perform an obligatory duty. Not to commit sin is obligatory, whereas continual fasting is an apostolic custom (which maybe observed or neglected). When a man is divinely protected from sin all his circumstances are a fast. It is related by Abu Talha al-Maliki that Sahl b. 'Abdullah of Tustar was fasting on the day of his birth and also on the day of his death, because he was born in the forenoon and tasted no milk until the evening prayer, and on the day of his decease he was keeping a fast. But continual fasting (*ruza-i wisal*) has been forbidden by the Apostle, for when he fasted continually, and his Companions conformed with him in that respect, he forbade them, saying: "I am not as one of you: I pass the night with my Lord, who gives me food and drink." The votaries of self-mortification assert that this prohibition was an act of indulgence,.not a veto declaring such fasts to be unlawful, and others regard them as being contrary to the Sunnah, but the fact is that continuance (*wisal*) is impossible, because the day's fast is interrupted by night or, at any rate, does not continue beyond a certain period. It is related that Sahl b. 'Abdullah of Tustar used to eat only once in fifteen days, and when the month of Ramadan arrived he ate nothing until the Feast, and

performed four hundred bowings in prayer every night. This exceeds the limit of human endurance, and cannot be accomplished by anyone without Divine aid, which itself becomes his nourishment. It is well known that Shaykh Abu Nasr Sarraj,[2] the author of the Luma,[3] who was surnamed the Peacock of the Poor (*Ta'us al-fuqara*), came to Baghdad in the month of Ramadan, and was given a private chamber in the Shuniziyya mosque, and was appointed to preside over the dervishes until the Feast. During the nightly prayers of Ramdan (*tarawih*) he recited the whole Quran five times. Every night a servant brought a loaf of bread to his room. When he departed, on the day of the Feast, the servant found all the thirty loaves untouched. 'Ali b. Bakkar relates that Hafs Missisi ate nothing in Ramadan except on the fifteenth day of that month. We are told that Ibrahim Adham fasted from the beginning to the end of Ramadan, and, although it was the month of Tammuz (July), worked every day as a harvester and gave his wages to the dervishes, and prayed from nightfall to daybreak; they watched him closely and saw that he neither ate nor slept. It is said that Shaykh Abu 'Abdullah Khafif during his life kept forty uninterrupted fasts of forty days, and I have met with an old man who used to keep annually two fasts of forty days in the desert. I was present at the death-bed of Danishmand Abu Muhammad Banghari; he had tasted no food for eighty days and had not missed a single occasion of public worship. At Merv there were two spiritual directors; one was called Masud and the other was Shaykh Abu 'Ali Siyah. Masud sent a message to Abu 'Ali, saying: "How long shall we make emtpy pretensions? Come, let us sit fasting for forty days." Abu 'Ali replied: "No; let us eat three times a day and nevertheless require only one purification during these forty days." The difficulties of this question are not yet removed. Ignorant persons conclude that continuance in fasting is possible, while physicians allege that such a theory is entirely

baseless. I will now explain the matter in full. To fast continuously, without infringing the Divine command, is a miracle (*karamat*). Miracles have a special, not a general, application: if they were vouchsafed to all, faith would be an act of necessity (*jabr*) and gnostics would not be recompensed on account of gnosis. The Apostle wrought evidentiary miracles (*mu'jizat*) and therefore divulged his continuance in fasting; but he forbade the saints (*ahl-i karamat*) to divulge it, because a karamat involves concealment, whereas a *mu'jizaj* involves revelation. This is a clear distinction between the miracles performed by Apostles and those performed by saints, and will be sufficient for anyone who is divinely guided. The forty days' fasts (*chillah*) of the saints are derived from the fast of Moses (Qur.vii,138). When the saints desire to hear the word of God spiritually, they remain fasting for forty days. After thirty days have passed they rub their teeth; then they fast ten days more, and God speaks to their hearts, because whatever the prophets enjoy openly the saints may enjoy secretly. Now, hearing the word of God is not compatible with the subsistence of the natural temperament: therefore the four humours must be deprived of food and drink for forty days in order that they maybe utterly subdued, and that the purity of love and the subtlety of the spirit may hold absolute sway.

Chapter on Hunger and matters connected with it

Hunger sharpens the intelligence and improves the mind and health. The Apostle said: "Make your bellies hungry and your livers thirsty and your bodies naked, that perchance your hearts may see God in this world." Although hunger is an affliction to the body, it illumines the heart and purifies the soul, and leads the spirit into the presence of God. To eat one's fill is an act worthy of a beast. One who cultivates his spiritual nature by means of

hunger, in order to devote himself entirely to God and detach himself from worldly ties, is not on the same level with one who cultivates his body by means of gluttony, and serves his lusts. "The men of old ate to live, but ye live to eat." For the sake of a morsel of food Adam fell from Paradise, and was banished far from the neighbourhood of God.

He whose hunger is compulsory is not really hungry, because one who desires to eat after God has decreed the contrary is virtually eating; the merit of hunger belongs to him who abstains from eating, not to him who is debarred from eating. Kattani[4] says: "The novice shall sleep only when he is overpowered by slumber, and speak only when he must, and eat only when he is starving." According to some, starvation (*faqa*) involves abstention from food for two days and nights; others say three days and nigbts, or a week, or forty days, because true mystics believe that a sincere man (*sadiq*) is only once hungry in forty days; his hunger merely serves to keep him alive, and all hunger besides is natural appetite and vanity. You must know that all the veins in the bodies of gnostics are evidences of the Divine mysteries, and that their hearts are tenanted by visions of the Most High. Their hearts are doors opened in their breasts, and at these doors are stationed reason and passion: reason is reinforced by the spirit, and passion by the lower soul. The more the natural humours are nourished by food, the stronger does the lower soul become, and the more impetuously is passion diffused through the members of the body; and in every vein a different kind of veil (*hijabi*) is produced. But when food is withheld from the lower soul it grows weak, and the reason gains strength, and the mysteries and evidences of God become more visible, until, when the lower soul is unable to work and passion is annihilated, every vain desire is effaced in the manifestation of the Truth, and the seeker of God attains to

the whole of his desire. It is related that Abu 'l-Abbas Qassab said: "My obedience and disobedience depend on two cakes of bread: when I eat I find in myself the stuff of every sin, but when I abstain from eating I find in myself the foundation of every act of piety." The fruit of hunger is contemplation of God (mushahadah), of which the forerunner is mortification (mujahadah). Repletion combined with contemplation is better than hunger combined with mortification, because contemplation is the battlefield of men, whereas mortification is the playground of children.

1 The usual reading is ajzi, "I give recompense," but the Persian translation, ba-jaza-yi an man awlataram, is equivalent to ana ajza bihi.
2 Nafahat, No.353.
3 "Brilliancies." Naf. Entitles it.
4 Nafahat, No.215.

CHAPTER XXII

THE UNCOVERING OF THE EIGHTH VEIL: CONCERNING THE PILGRIMAGE(*Hajj*)

The pilgrimage (H*ajj*) is binding on every Muslim of sound mind who is able to perform it and has reached manhood. It consists in putting on thc pilgrim's garb at the proper place, in standing on 'Arafat, in circumambulating the Ka'bah, and in running between Safah and Marwah. One must not enter the sacred territory without being clad as a pilgrim (*be ihram*). The sacred territory (*Haram*) is so called because it contains the Station of Abraham (*Maqam-i Ibrahim*). Abraham had two stations: the station of his body, namely, Makkah, and the station of his soul, namely, friendship (*khullat*). Whoever seeks his bodily station must renounce all lusts and pleasures and put on the pilgrim's garb and clothe himself in a winding sheet (*kafan*) and refrain from hunting lawful game, and keep all his senses under strict control, and be present at 'Arafat and go thence to Muzdalifah and Mash'ar al-Haram, and pick up stones and circumambulate the Ka'bah and visit Mina and stay there three days and throw stones in the prescribed manner and cut his hair and perform the sacrifice and put on his (ordinary) clothes. But whoever seeks his spiritual station must renounce familiar associations and bid farewell to pleasures and take no thought of other than God (for his looking towards the phenomenal world is interdicted); then he must stand on the 'Aarafat of gnosis (ma'rifat) and from there set out for the *Muzdalifah* of amity (*ulfat*) and from there send his heart to circumambulate the temple of Divine purification (*tanzih*), and throw away the stones of passion and corrupt thoughts in the Mina of faith, and sacrifice his

lower soul on the altar of mortification and arrive at the station of friendship (*khullat*). To enter the bodily station is to be secure from enemies and their swords, but to enter the spiritual station is to be secure from separation (from God) and its consequences.[1]

Muhammad b. al-Fadl says: "I wonder at those who seek His temple in this world: why do not they seek contemplation of Him in their hearts? The temple they sometimes attain and sometimes miss, but contemplation they might enjoy always. If they are bound to visit a stone, which is looked at only once a year, surely they are more bound to visit the temple of the heart, where He maybe seen three hundred and sixty times in a day and night. But the mystic's every step is a symbol of the journey to Makkah, and when he reaches the sanctuary he wins a robe of honour for every step." Abu Yazid says: "If anyone's recompense for worshipping God is deferred until tomorrow he has not worshipped God aright today," for the recompense of every moment of worship and mortification is immediate. And Abu Yazid also says: "On my first pilgrimage I saw only the temple; the second time, I saw both the temple and the Lord of the temple; and the third time I saw the Lord alone." In short, where mortification is, there is no sanctuary: the sanctuary is where contemplation is. Unless the whole universe is a man's trysting place where he comes nigh unto God and a retired chamber where he enjoys intimacy with God, he is still a stranger to Divine love; but when he has vision the whole universe is his sanctuary.

"The darkest thing in the world is the Beloved's house without the Beloved."

Accordingly, what is truly valuable is not the Ka'bah,

but contemplation and annihilation in the abode of friendship, of which things the sight of the Ka'bah is indirectly a cause. But we must recognize that every cause depends on the author of causes (*musabbib*), from whatever hidden place the providence of God may appear, and whencesoever the desire of the seeker maybe fulfilled. The object of mystics (*mardan*) in traversing wildernesses and deserts is not the sanctuary itself, for to a lover of God it is unlawful to look upon His sanctuary.No; their object is mortification in a longing that leaves them no rest, and eager dissolution in a love that has no end. A certain man came to Junayd. Junayd asked him whence he came. He replied: "I have been on the pilgrimage." Junayd said: "From the time when you first journeyed from your home have you also journeyed away from all sins?" He said: "No." "Then," said Junayd, "you have made no journey.At every stage where you halted for the night did you traverse a station on the way to God?" He said: "No." "Then," said Junayd, "you have not trodden the road stage by stage. When you put on the pilgrim's garb at the proper place did you discard the attributes of humanity as you cast off your ordinary clothes?" "No." "Then you have not put on the pilgrim's garb. When you stood on 'Arafat did you stand one instant in contemplation of God?" "No." "Then you have not stood on 'Arafat. When you went to Muzdalifah and achieved your desire did you renounce all sensual desires?" "No." "Then you have not gone to Muzdalifah. When you circumambulated the Temple did you behold the immaterial beauty of God in the abode of purification?" "No." "Then you have not circumambulated the Temple. When you ran between Safah and Marwah did you attain to the rank of purity (*safa*) and virtue (*muruwwat*)?" "No." "Then you have not run. When you came to Mina did all your wishes (munyatha) cease?" "No." "Then you have not yet visited Mina. When you reached the slaughter place and offered sacrifice did you sacrifice the objects of sensual

desire?" "No." "Then you have not sacrificed. When you threw the stones did you throw away whatever sensual thoughts were accompanying you?" "No." "Then you have not yet thrown the stones, and you have not yet performed the pilgrimage. Return and perform the pilgrimage in the manner which I have described in order that you may arrive at the station of Abraham." *Fudayl b. 'Iyad* says: "I saw at Mount 'Arafat a youth who stood silent with bowed head while all the people were praying aloud, and I asked him why he did not pray like them. He answered that he was in great distress, having lost the spiritual state (*waqti*) which he formerly enjoyed, and that he could by no means cry aloud unto God. I said: 'Pray, in order that through the blessings of this multitude God may accomplish thy desire.' He was about to lift up his hands and pray, when suddenly he uttered a shriek and died on the spot." Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian says: "At Mina I saw a young man sitting quietly while the people were engaged in the sacrifices. I looked at him to see what he was doing. He cried: 'O God, all the people are offering sacrifice. I wish to sacrifice my lower soul to Thee; do Thou accept it.' Having spoken, he pointed with his forefinger to his throat and fell dead -- may God have mercy on him!"

Pilgrimages, then, are of two kinds: (1) in absence (from God) and (2) in presence (of God). Anyone who is absent from God at Makkah is in the same position as if he were absent from God in his own house, and anyone who is present with God in his own house is in the same position as if he were present with God at Makkah. Pilgrimage is an act of mortification (*mujahadah*) for the sake of obtaining contemplation (*mushahadah*), and mortification does not become the direct cause of contemplation, but is only a means to it. Therefore, inasmuch as a means has no further effect on the reality of things, the true object of pilgrimage is not to visit the Ka'bah, but to obtain contemplation of God.

Chapter on Contemplation

The Apostle said: "Make your bellies hungry and your livers thirsty and leave the world alone, that perchance ye may see God with your hearts"; and he also said, "Worship God as though thou sawest Him, for if thou dost not see Him, yet He sees thee." God said to David: "Dost thou know what is knowledge of Me? It is the life of the heart in contemplation of Me." By "contemplation" the Sufis means spiritnal vision of God in public and private, without asking how or in what manner. Abu 'l-'Abbas b. 'Ata says in reference to the words of God: "As to those who say, 'Our Lord is God,' and who become steadfast:" (Qur.xli,30), i.e. "they say 'Our Lord is God' in self-mortification and they 'become steadfast' on the carpet of contemplation".

There are really two kinds of contemplation. The former is the result of perfect faith (*sihhat-i yaqin*), the latter of rapturous love, for in the rapture of love a man attains to such a degree that his whole being is absorbed in the thought of his Beloved and he sees nothing else. Muhammad b. Wasi' says: "I never saw anything without seeing God therein," i.e. through perfect faith. This vision is from God to His creatures. Shibli says: "I never saw anything except God," i.e. in the rapture of love and the fervour of contemplation. One sees the act with his bodily eye and, as he looks, beholds the Agent with his spiritual eye; another is rapt by love of the Agent from all things else, so that he sees only the Agent. The one method is demonstrative (*istidlali*), the other is ecstatic (*jadhbi*). In the former case, a manifest proof is derived from the evidences of God; in the latter case, the seer is enraptured and transported by desire: evidences and verities are a veil to him, because he who knows a thing does not reverence aught besides, and he who loves a thing does not regard

aught besides, but renounces contention with God and interference with Him in His decrees and His acts. God hath said of the Apostle at the time of his Ascension: "His eyes did not swerve or transgress" (Qur.liii,17), on account of the intensity of his longing for God. When the lover turns his eye away from created things, he will inevitably see the Creator with his heart. God hath said: "Tell the believers to close their eyes" (Qur.xxiv,30). i.e. to close their bodily eyes to lusts and their spiritual eyes to created things. He who is most sincere in self-mortification is most firmly grounded in contemplation for inward contemplation is connected with outward mortification. Sahl b. 'Abdullah of Tustar says: "If anyone shuts his eye to God for a single moment, he will never be rightly guided all his life long," because to regard other than God is to be handed over to other than God, and one who is left at the mercy of other than God is lost. Therefore the life of contemplatives is the time during which they enjoy contemplation (mushahadah): time spent in seeing ocularly (mu'ayanat) they do not reckon as life, for that to them is really death. Thus, when Abu Yazid was asked how old he was, he replied: "Four years." They said: "How can that be?" He answered: "I have been veiled (from God) by this world for seventy years,but I have seen Him during the last four years: the period in which one is veiled does not belong to one's life." Shibli cried in his prayers: "O God, hide Paradise and Hell in Thy unseen places, that Thou mayest be worshipped disinterestedly." One who is forgetful of God nevertheless worships Him, through faith, because human nature has an interest in Paradise; but inasmuch as the heart has no interest in loving God, one who is forgetful of God is debarred from contemplating Him. The Apostle told 'A'isha that he did not see God on the night of the Ascension, but Ibn 'Abbas relates that the Apostle told him that he saw God on that occasion. Accordingly, this remains a matter of controversy: but in saying that he did not see God the

Apostle was referring to his bodily eyes whereas in saying the contrary he was referring to his spiritual eye. Since 'A'isha was a formalist and Ibn 'Abbas a spiritualist, the Apostle spoke with each of them according to their insight. Junayd said: "If God should say to me, 'Behold Me,' I should reply, 'I will not behold Thee,' because in love the eye is other (than God) and alien: the jealousy of otherness would prevent me from beholding Him. Since in this world I was wont to behold Him without the mediation of the eye, how should I use such mediation in the next world?"

"Truly, I envy mine eye the sight of Thee,
And I close mine eye when I look on Thee."

Junayd was asked: "Do you wish to see God?" He said: "No." They asked why. He answered: "When Moses wished, he did not see Him, and when Muhammad did not wish, he saw Him." Our wishing is the greatest of the veils that hinder us from seeing God, because in love the existence of self-will is disobedience, and disobedience is a veil. When self-will vanishes in this world, contemplation is attained, and when contemplation is firmly established, there is no difference between this world and the next. Abu Yazid says: "God has servants who would apostatize if they were veiled from Him in this world or in the next," i.e. He sustains them with perpetual contemplation and keeps them alive with the life of love; and when one who enjoys revelation is deprived of it, he necessarily becomes an apostate. Dhu 'l-Nun says: "One day, when I was journeying in Egypt, I saw some boys who were throwing stones at a young man. I asked them what they wanted of him. They said: 'He is mad.' I asked how his madness showed itself, and they told me that he pretended to see God. I turned to the young man and inquired whether he had really said this. He answered: 'I say that if I should not see God for one moment, I should remain veiled and should

not be obedient towards Him."' Some Sufis have fallen into the mistake of supposing that spiritual vision and contemplation represent such an idea (*surati*) of God as is formed in the mind by the imagination either from memory or reflection. This is utter anthropomorphism (*tashbih*) and manifest error. God is not finite that the imagination should be able to define Him or that the intellect should comprehend His nature. Whatever can be imagined is homogeneous with the intellect, but God is not homogeneous with any *genus*, although in relation to the Eternal all phenomenal objects -- subtle and gross alike -- are homogeneous with each other notwithstanding their mutual contrariety. Therefore contemplation in this world resembles vision of God in the next world, and since the Companions of the Apostle (*ashab*) are unanimously agreed that vision is possible hereafter, contemplation is possible here. Those who tell of contemplation either in this or the other world only say that it is possible, not that they have enjoyed or now enjoy it, because contemplation is an attribute of the heart (*sirr*) and cannot be expressed by the tongue except metaphorically. Hence silence ranks higher than speech, for silence is a sign of contemplation (*mushahadah*), whereas speech is a sign of ocular testimony (*shahadat*). Accordingly the Apostle, when he attained proximity to God, said: "I cannot tell Thy praise," because he was in contemplation, and contemplation in the degree of love is perfect unity (*yaganagi*), and any outward expression in unity is otherness (*beganagi*). Then he said: "Thou hast praised Thyself," i.e. Thy words are mine, and Thy praise is mine, and I do not deem my tongue capable of expressing what I feel. As the poet says:--

"I desired my beloved, but when I saw him
I was dumbfounded and possessed neither tongue nor eye."

1 Here follows the story of Abraham and Nimrod which has occurred before, p.73.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE UNCOVERING OF

manners in contemplating the object of their adoration, for when she was alone with Joseph and besought him to consent to her wishes, she first covered up the face of her idol in order that it might not witness her want of propriety. And when the Apostle was borne to Heaven at the Ascension, his observance of discipline restrained him from paying any regard either to this world or to the next.

The second kind of discipline is that which is observed towards one's self in one's conduct, and which consists in avoiding, when one is in one's own company, any act that would be improper in the company of one's fellow creatures or of God, e.g., one must not utter an untruth by declaring one's self to be what one is not, and one must eat little in order that one may seldom go to the lavatory, and one must not look at anything which it is not decent for others to see.It is related that 'Ali never beheld his own nakedness, because he was ashamed to see in himself what he was forbidden to see in others.

The third kind of discipline is that which is observed in social intercourse with one's fellow-creatures. The most important rule for such intercourse is to act well, and to observe the custom of the Apostle at home and abroad.

These three sorts of discipline cannot be separated from one another. Now I will set them forth in detail as far as possible, in order that you and all my readers may follow them more easily.

Chapter on Companionship and matters connected therewith

(Qur.xix,96), i.e., He will love them and cause them to be loved, because they do their duty towards their brethren and prefer them to themselves. And the Apostle said: "Three things render thy brother's love toward thee sincere: that thou shouldst salute him when thou meetest him, and that thou shouldst make room for him when he sits beside thee, and that thou shouldst call him by the name that he likes best." And God said, "The believers are brethren: therefore reconcile your two brethren" (Qur.xlix, 10); and the Apostle said, "Get many brethren, for your Lord is bashful (*hayi*) and kind: He will be ashamed to punish His servant in the presence of his brethren on the Day of Resurrection."

But companionship must be for God's sake, not for the purpose of gratifying the lower soul or any selfish interest, in order that a man maybe divinely rewarded for observing the rules of companionship. Malik b. Dinar said to his son-in-law, Mughira b.Shu'ba: "If you derive no religious benefit from a brother and friend, abandon his society, that you maybe saved," i.e. associate either with one who is superior or with one who is inferior to yourself. In the former case you will derive benefit from him, and in the latter case the benefit will be mutual, since each will learn something from the other. Hence the Apostle said, "It is the whole of piety to instruct one who is ignorant;" and Yahya b. Mu'adh (al-Razi) said, "He is a bad friend to whom you need to say, 'Remember me in the prayers" (because a man ought always to pray for anyone with whom he has associated even for a moment); and he is a bad friend with whom you cannot live except on condition of flattering him (because candour is involved in the principle of companionship); and he is a bad friend to whom you need to apologize for a fault that you have committed (because apologies are made by strangers, and in companionship it is wrong to be on such terms). The Apostle said: "A man

follows the religion of his friend: take heed, therefore, with whom you form a friendship." If he associates with the good, their society will make him good, although he is bad; and if he associates with the wicked, he will be wicked, although he is good, because he will be consenting to their wickedness. It is related that a man said, while he was circumambulating the Ka'bah, "O God, make my brethren good!" On being asked why he did not implore a boon for himself in such a place, he replied: "I have brethren to whom I shall return; if they are good, I shall be good with them, and if they are wicked, I shall be wicked with them."

The Sufi Shaykhs demand from each other the fulfilment of the duties of companionship and enjoin their disciples to require the same, so that amongst them companionship has become like a religious obligation. The Shaykhs have written many books explaining the rules of Sufi companionship; e.g. Junayd composed a work entitled *Tashih al-iradat*,[2] and Ahmad b. *Khadruya of Balkh* another, entitled *Al-Ri'ayat bi-huquq*[3] *Allah*,[4] and Muhammad b. 'Ali of Tirmidh another, entitled *Adab al-muridin.*[5] Other exhaustive treatises on this subject have been written by Abu 'l-Qasim al-Hakim,[6] Abu Bakr al-Warraq, Sahl b. 'Abdullah (al-Tustari), Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami, and Master Abu 'l-Qasim Qushayri. All those writers are great authorities on Sufi'ism, but I desire that my book should enable anyone who possesses it to dispense with other books and, as I said in the preface, be sufficient in itself for you and for all students of the Sufi doctrine. I will now classify in separate chapters their various rules of discipline relating to conduct.

Chapter concerning the Rules of Companionship

Since you have perceived that the most important thing for the novice is companionship, the fulfilment of its

obligations is necessarily incumbent on him. Solitude is fatal to the novice, for the Apostle said, "Satan is with the solitary, but he is farther away from two who are together;" and God hath said, "There is no private discourse among three persons but God is the fourth of them" (Qur.lviii,8). I have read in the Anecdotes that a disciple of Junayd imagined that he had attained to the degree of perfection, and that it was better for him to be alone. Accordingly he went into retirement and withdrew from the society of his brethren. At nightfall a camel used to appear, and he was told that it would take him to Paradise; on mounting it, he was conveyed to a pleasant demesne, with beautiful inhabitants and delicious viands and flowing streams, where he stayed till dawn; then he fell asleep, and on waking found himself at the door of his cell. These experiences filled him with pride and he could not refrain from boasting of them. When Junayd heard the story he hastened to the disciple's cell, and having received from him a full account of what had passed, said to him: "Tonight, when you come to that place, remember to say thrice, 'There is no strength or power but in God, the High, the Great." The same night he was carried off as usual, and though in his heart he did not believe Junayd, by way of trial he repeated those words thrice. The crew around him shrieked and vanished, and he found himself seated on a dunghill in the midst of rotten bones. He acknowledged his fault and repented and returned to companionship.

The principle of the Sufis in companionship is that they should treat everyone according to his degree. Thus they treat old men with respect, like fathers; those of their own sort with agreeable familiarity, like brothers; and young men with affection, like sons. They renounce hate, envy, and malice, and do not withhold sincere admonition from anyone. In companionship it is not permissible to speak evil of the absent, or to behave dishonestly, or to

in eloquence and rhetoric and learning and knowledge of the nightly conversations (*asmar*[7]) of kings and Arabic poetry. Secondly, the religious, whose culture chiefly consists in disciplining the lower soul and correcting the limbs and observing the legal ordinances and renouncing lusts. Thirdly, the elect (i.e. the Sufis), whose culture consists for the most part in spiritual purity and keeping watch over their hearts and fulfilling their promises and guarding the 'state' in which they are and paying no heed to extraneous suggestions and behaving with propriety in the positions of search (for God), in the states of presence (with God), and in the stations of proximity (to God)." This saying is comprehensive. The different matters which it includes are discussed in serveral places in this book.

Chapter on the Rules of Companionship affecting Residents

Dervishes who choose to reside, and not to travel, are bound to observe the following rules of discipline. When a traveller comes to them, they must meet him joyfully and receive him with respect and treat him like an honoured guest and freely set before him whatever food they have, modelling their behaviour upon that of Abraham. They must not inquire whence he has come or whither he is going or what is his name, but must deem that he has come from God and is going to God and that his name is "servant of God"; then they must see whether he desires to be alone or in company: if he prefers to be alone, they must give him an empty room, and if he prefers company, they must consort with him unceremoniously in a friendly and sociable manner. When he lays his head on his pillow at night the resident dervish ought to offer to wash his feet, but if the traveller should not allow him to do this and should say that he is not accustomed to it, the resident must not insist, for fear of causing him annoyance. Next day, he

must offer him a bath and take him to the cleanest bath available and save his clothes from (becoming dirty in) the latrines of the bath, and not permit a strange attendant to wait upon him, but wait upon him zealously in order to make him clean of all stains, and scrape (*bikharad*) his back and rub his knees and the soles of his feet and his hands: more than this he is not obliged to do. And if the resident dervish has sufficient means, he should provide a new garment for his guest; otherwise, he need not trouble himself, but he should clean his guest's clothes so that he may put them on when he comes out of the bath. If the traveller remains two or three days, he should be invited to visit any spiritual director or Imam who maybe in the town, but he must not be compelled to pay such visits against his inclination, because those who seek God are not always masters of their own feelings; e.g., Ibrahim Khawwas on one occasion refused to accompany Khidr, who desired his society, for he was unwilling that his feelings should be engaged by anyone except God. Certainly it is not right that a resident dervish should take a traveller to salute worldly men or to attend their entertainments, sick-beds, and funerals; and if a resident hopes to make travellers an instrument of mendicancy (*alat-i gada'i*) and conduct them from house to house, it would be better for him to refrain from serving them instead of subjecting them to humiliation. Among all the troubles and inconveniences that I have suffered when travelling none was worse than to be carried off time after time by ignorant servants and impudent dervishes of this sort and conducted from the house of such and such a Khwaja to the house of such and such a Dihqan, while, though apparently complaisant, I felt a great dislike to go with them. I then vowed that, if ever I became resident, I would not behave towards travellers with this impropriety. Nothing derived from associating with ill-mannered persons is more useful than the lesson that you must endure their disagreeable behaviour and must

not imitate it. On the other hand, if a travelling dervish becomes at his ease (*munbasit*) with a resident and stays for some time and makes a worldly demand, the resident is bound immediately to give him what he wants; but if the traveller is an impostor and low-minded, the resident must not act meanly in order to comply with his impossible requirements, for this is not the way of those who are devoted to God. What business has a dervish to associate with devotees if he needs worldly things? Let him go to the market and buy and sell, or let him be a soldier at the sultan's court. It is related that, while Junayd and his pupils were sitting occupied in some ascetic discipline, a travelling dervish came in. They exerted themselves to entertain him and placed food before him. He said: "I want such and such a thing besides this." Junayd said to him: "You must go to the bazaar, for you are a man of the market, not of the mosque and the cell." Once I set out from Damascus with two dervishes to visit Ibn al-Mu'alla,[8] who was living in the country near Ramla. On the way we arranged that each of us should think of the matter concerning which we were in doubt, in order that that venerable director might tell us our secret thoughts and solve our difficulties. I said to myself: "I will desire of him the poems and intimate supplications (*munajat*) of Husan b. Mansur (al-Hallaj)." One of my companions said, "I will desire him to pray that my disease of the spleen (*tihal*) may become better;" and the other said, "I will wish for sweetmeat of different colours" (*halwa-yi sabuni*). As soon as we arrived, Ibn al-Mu'alla commanded that a manuscript of the poems and supplications of Husayn should be presented to me, and laid his hand on the belly of the invalid so that his illness was assuaged, and said to the other dervish: "Parti-coloured sweetmeat is eaten by soldiers ('awanan); you are dressed as a saint, and the dress of a saint does not accord with the appetite of a soldier. Choose one or the other."

In short, the resident is not obliged to pay attention to the travelling dervish unless the latter's attention is paid entirely to God. If he is devoted to his own interests, it is impossible that another should help him to gratify his selfishness, for dervishes are guides (*rahbaran*), not brigands (*rahburan*), to each other. So long as anyone persevers in a selfish demand, his friend ought to resist it, but when he renounces it, then his friend ought to satisfy it. In the Traditions of the Apostle it is related that he made a brotherhood between Salman (al-Farisi) and Abu Dharr Ghifari, both of whom were leading men among the People of the Veranda (ahl-i suffah) and eminent spiritualists. One day, when Salman came to visit Abu Dharr at his house, Abu Dharr's wife complained to him that her husband neither ate by day nor slept by night. Salman told her to fetch some food, and said to Abu Dharr: "O brother, I desire thee to eat, since this fasting is not incumbent on thee." Abu Dharr complied. And at night Salman said: "O brother, I beg thee to sleep: thy body and thy wife have a claim upon thee, as well as thy Lord." Next day Abu Dharr went to the Apostle, who said: "I say the same thing as Salman said yesterday: verily, thy body has a claim upon thee." Inasmuch as Abu Dharr had renounced his selfish pleasures, Salman persuaded him to gratify them. Whatever you do on this principle is sound and impregnable. Once, in the territories of 'Iraq, I was restlessly occupied (*tapaki mikardam*) in seeking wealth and squandering it, and I had run largely into debt. Everyone who wanted anything turned to me, and I was troubled and at a loss to know how I could accomplish their desires. An eminent person wrote to me as follows: "Beware lest you distract your mind from God by satisfying the wishes of those whose minds are engrossed in vanity. If you find anyone whose mind is nobler than your own, you may justly distract your mind in order to give peace to his. Otherwise, do not distract yourself, since God is sufficient for His servants." These words brought me instant relief.

Chapter concerning their Rules in Travel

When a dervish chooses to travel, not to reside, he ought to observe the following rules. In the first place, he must travel for God's sake, not for pleasure, and as he journeys outwardly, so he should flee inwardly from his sensual affections; and he must always keep himself in a state of purity and not neglect his devotions; and his object in travelling must be either pilgrimage or war (against infidels) or to see a (holy) site or to derive instruction or to seek knowledge or to visit a venerable person, a Shaykh, or the tomb of a saint; otherwise his journey will be faulty. And he cannot do without a patched frock and a prayer-rug and a bucket and a rope and a pair of shoes (*kafsh*) or clogs (*na'layn*) and a staff: the patched frock to cover his nakedness, the prayer-rug to pray on, the bucket to cleanse himself with, and the staff to protect him from attacks and for other purposes. Before stepping on the prayer-rug he must put on his shoes or clogs in a state of purity. If anyone carries other articles,for the sake of keeping the Sunnah (Apostolic custom), such as a comb and nail-scissors and a needle and a little box of antimony (*mukhula*), he does right. If however, anyone provides himself with more utensils than those which have been mentioned, we have to consider in what station he is: if he is a novice every article will be a shackle and a stumbling-block and a veil to him, and will afford him the means of showing self-conceit, but if he is a firmly grounded adept he may carry all these articles and more. I heard the following story from Shaykh Abu Muslim Faris b. Ghalib al-Farisi. "One day (he said) I paid a visit to Shaykh Abu Sa'id b. Abi 'l-Khayr Fadlallah b. Muhammad. I found him sleeping on a couch with four cushions (*takhti chahar-balish*), one of his legs thrown across the other; and he was dressed in fine Egyptian linen (*diqqi Misri*). My garment was so dirty that it resembled leather, and my body was emaciated by austerities. On

looking at Abu Sa'id a feeling of scepticism overcame me. I said to myself: 'He is a dervish, and so am I, yet he is in all this luxury and I in this sore tribulation.' He immediately divined my thoughts and was aware of my vainglory. 'O Abu Muslim,' said he, 'in what diwan have you read that a self-conceited man is a dervish? Since I see God in all things, God sets me on a throne, and since you see yourself in everything, God keeps you in affliction: my lot is contemplation, while your is mortification. These are two stations on the Way to God, but God is far aloof from them both, and a dervish is dead to all stations and free from all states.' On hearing these words my senses forsook me, and the whole world grew dark in my eyes. When I came to myself I repented, and he accepted my repentance. Then I said: 'O Shaykh, give me leave to depart, for I cannot bear the sight of thee.' He answered, 'O Abu Muslim, you speak the truth;' then he quoted this verse:--

'That which my ear was unable to hear by report
My eye beheld actually all at once.'"

The travelling dervish must always observe the custom of the Apostle, and when he comes to the house of a resident he should enter his presence respectfully and greet him; and he should first take off the shoe on his left foot, as the Apostle did; and when he puts his shoes on, he should first put on the shoe belonging to his right foot; and he should wash his right foot before his left; and he should perform two bowings of the head by way of salutation (in prayer) and then occupy himself with attending to the (religious) duties incumbent on dervishes. He must not in any case interfere with the residents, or behave immoderately towards anyone, or talk of the hardships which he may have suffered in travelling, or discourse on theology, or tell anecdotes, or recite traditions in company, for all this is a sign of self-conceit. He must be patient

when he is vexed by fools and must tolerate their irksomeness for God's sake, for in patience there are many blessings. If residents or their servants bid him go with them to salute or visit the towns people, he must acquiesce if he can, but in his heart he ought to dislike paying such marks of respect to worldlings, although he should excuse the behaviour of his brethren who act thus. He must take care not to trouble them by making any unreasonable demand, and he must not drag them to the court of high officials with the purpose of seeking an idle pleasure for himself. Travelling, as well as resident, dervishes must always, in companionship, endeavour to please God, and must have a good belief in each other, and not speak ill of any comrade face to face with him or behind his back, because true mystics in regarding the act see the Agent, and inasmuch as every human being, of whatever description he maybe -- faulty or faultless, veiled or illuminated -- belongs to God and is His creature, to quarrel with a human act is to quarrel with the Divine Agent.

Chapter concerning their Rules in Eating

Men cannot dispense with nourishment, but moral virtue requires that they should not eat or drink in excess. Shafi'i says: "He who thinks about that which goes into his belly is worth only that which comes out of it." Nothing is more hurtful to a novice in Sufi'ism than eating too much. I have read in the Anecdotes that Abu Yazid was asked why he praised hunger so highly. He answered: "Because if Pharaoh had been hungry he would not have said, 'I am your Supreme Lord,' and if Qarun (Qurah) had been hungry he would not have been rebellious." Tha'laba[9] was praised by all so long as he was hungry, but when he ate his fill he displayed hypocrisy. Sahl b. 'Abdullah (al-Tustari) said: "In my judgment, a belly full of wine is better than one full of lawful food." On being asked the reason of this he said:

"When a man's belly is filled with wine, his intellect is stupefied and the flame of lust is quenched, and people are secure from his hand and tongue; but when his belly is filled with lawful food he desires foolishness, and his lust waxes great and his lower soul rises to seek her pleasures." The Shaykhs have said, describling the Sufis: "They eat like sick men, and sleep like shipwrecked men, and speak like one whose children have died."

It is an obligatory rule that they should not eat alone, but should unselfishly share their food with one another; and when seated at table they should not be silent, and should begin by saying "In God's name"; and they should not put anything down or lift anything up in such a way as to offend their comrades, and they should dip the first mouthful in salt, and should deal fairly by their friends. Sahl b. ʻAbdullah (al-Tustari) was asked about the meaning of the verse: "Verily God enjoins justice and beneficence" (Qur.xvi,92). He replied: "Justice consists in dealing fairly with one's friend in regard to a morsel of food, and beneficence consists in deeming him to have a better claim to that morsel than yourself." My Shaykh used to say: "I am astonished at the impostor who declares that he has renounced the world, and is anxious about a morsel of food." Furthermore, the Sufi should eat with his right hand and should look only at his own morsel, and while eating he should not drink unless he is extremely thirsty, and if he drinks he should drink only as much as will moisten his liver. He should not eat large mouthfuls, and should chew his food well and not make haste; otherwise he will be acting contrary to the custom of the Apostle, and will probably suffer from indigestion (*tukhama*). When he has finished eating, he should give praise to God and wash his hands. If two or three or more persons belonging to a community of dervishes go to a dinner and eat something without informing their brethren, according to some

Shaykhs this is unlawful and constitutes a breach of companionship, but some hold it to be allowable when a number of persons act thus in union with each other, and some allow it in the case of a single person, on the ground that he is not obliged to deal fairly when he is alone but when he is in company; consequently, being alone, he is relieved of the obligations of companionship and is not responsible for his act. Now, the most important principle in this matter is that the invitation of a dervish should not be refused, and that the invitation of a rich man should not be accepted. Dervishes ought not to go to the houses of rich men or beg anything of them: such conduct is demoralizing for Sufis, because worldlings are not on confidential terms (*mahram*)with the dervish. Much wealth, however, does not make a man "rich" (*dunya-dar*), nor does little wealth make him "poor". No one who acknowledges that poverty is better than riches is "rich", even though he be a king; and anyone who disbelieves in poverty is "rich", even though he be reduced to want. When a dervish attends a party he should not constrain himself either to eat or not to eat, but should behave in accordance with his feelings at the time (*bar hukm-i waqt*). If the host is a congenial person (*mahram*), it is right that a married man (*muta'ahhil*) should condone a fault; and if the host is uncongenial, it is not allowable to go to his house. But in any case it is better not to commit a fault, for Sahl b. 'Abdullah (al-Tustari) says: "Backsliding is abasement" (*al-zillat dhillat*).

Chapter concening their Rules in Walking

God hath said: "And the servants of the Merciful are they who walk on the earth meekly" (Qur.xxv,64). The seeker of God, as he walks, should know at each step he makes whether that step is against God or of God: if it is against God, he must ask for pardon, and if it is of God, he must persevere in it, that it maybe increased. One day

Dawud Ta'i had taken some medicine. They said to him: "Go into the court of this house for a little while, in order that the good result of the medicine may become apparent." He replied: "I am ashamed that on the Day of Judgment God should ask me why I made a few steps for my own selfish pleasure. God Almighty hath said: 'And their feet shall bear witness of that which they used to commit'" (Qur.xxxvi,65). Therefore the dervish should walk circumspectly, with his head bowed in meditation (*muraqabah*), and not look in any direction but in front. If any person meets him on the way, he must not draw himself back from him for the sake of saving his dress, for all Muslims are clean, and their clothes too; such an act is mere conceit and self-ostentation. If, however, the person who meets him is an unbeliever, or manifestly filthy, he may turn from him unobtrusively. And when he walks with a number of people, he must not attempt to go in front of them, since that is an excess of pride; nor must he attempt to go behind them, since that is an excess of humility, and humility of which one is conscious is essentially pride. He must keep his clogs and shoes as clean as he can by day in order that God, through the blessings thereof, may keep his clothes (clean) by night. And when one or more dervishes are with anyone, he should not stop on the way (to talk) with any person, nor should he tell that person to wait for him. He should walk quietly and should not hurry, else his walk will resemble that of the covetous; nor should he walk slowly, for then his walk will resemble that of the proud; and he should take steps of the full length (gam-i tamam nihad). In fine, the walk of the seeker of God should always be of such a description that if anyone should aks him whither he is going he should be able to answer decisively: "Verily, I am going to my Lord: He will direct me" (Qur.xxxvii,97). Otherwise his walking is a curse to him, because right steps (*khatawat*) proceed from right thoughts (*khatarat*): accordingly if a man's thoughts are concentrated

on God, his feet will follow his thoughts. It is related that Abu Yazid said: "The inconsiderate walk (*rawish-i be muraqabah*) of a dervish is a sign that he is heedless (of God), because all that exists is attained in two steps: one step away from self-interest and the other step firmly planted on the commandments of God." The walk of the seeker is a sign that he is traversing a certain distance, and since proximity to God is not a matter of distance, what can the seeker do but cut off his feet in the abode of rest?

Chapter concerning their Rules of Sleeping in travel and at home

There is a great difference of opinion among the Shaykhs on this subject. Some hold that it is not permissible for a novice to sleep except when he is overpowered by slumber, for the Apostle said: "Sleep is the brother of Death," and inasmuch as life is a benefit conferred by God, whereas death is an affliction, the former must be more excellent than the latter. And it is related that Shibli said: "God looked upon me and said, 'He who sleeps is heedless, and he who is heedless is veiled." Others, again hold that a novice may sleep at will and even constrain himself to sleep after having performed the Divine commands, for the Apostle said: "The Pen does not record (evil actions) against the sleeper until he awakes, or against the boy until he reaches puberty, or against the madman until he recovers his wits." When a man is asleep, people are secure from his mischief and he is deprived of his personal volition and his lower soul is prevented from gaining its desires and the Recording Angels cease to write, his tongue makes no false assertion and speaks no evil of the absent, and his will places no hope in conceit and ostentation; "he does not possess for himself either bane or boon or death or life or resurrection." Hence Ibne 'Abbas says: "Nothing is more grievous to Iblis than a sinner's

sleep; whenever the sinner sleeps, Iblis says, 'When will he wake and rise up that he may disobey God?" This was a point of controversy between Junayd and 'Ali b. Sahl al-Isfahani. The latter wrote to Junayd a very fine epistle, which I have heard, to the effect that sleep is heedlessness and rest is a turning away from God: the lover must not sleep or rest by day or by night, otherwise he will lose the object of his desire and will forget himself and his state and will fail to attain to God, and God said to David, "O David, he who pretends to love Me and sleeps when night covers him is a liar." Junayd said in his reply to that letter: "Our wakefulness consists in our acts of devotion to God, whereas our sleep is God's act towards us: that which proceeds from God to us without our will is more proceeds perfect than which from us to God with our will. Sleep is a gift which God bestows on those who love Him." This question depends on the doctrine of sobriety and intoxication, which has been fully discussed above. It is remarkable that Junayd, who was himself as "sober" man, here supports intoxication. Seemingly, he was enraptured at the time when he wrote and his temporary state may have expressed itself by his tongue; or, again, it maybe that the opposite is the case and that sleep is actually sobriety, while wakefulness is actually intoxication, because sleep is an attribute of humanity, and a man is "sober" so long as he is in the shadow of his attributes: wakefulness, on the other hand, is an attribute of God, and when a man transcends his own attribute he is enraptured. I have met with a number of Shaykhs who agree with Junayd in preferring sleep to wakefulness, because the visions of the saints and of most of the apostles occurred during sleep. And the Apostle said: "Verily, God takes pride in the servant who sleeps while he prostrates himself in prayer; and He says to His angels, 'Behold My servant, whose spirit is in the abode of secret conversation (*najwa*) while his body is an the carpet of worship." The Apostle also said: "Whoever sleeps in a state

of purification, his spirit is permitted to circumambulate the Throne and prostrate itself before God." I have read in the Anecdotes that Shah Shuja of Kirman kept awake for forty years. One night he fell asleep and saw God, and afterwards he used always to sleep in hope of seeing the same vision. This is the meaning of the verse of Qays of the Banu 'Amir[10]:--

> "*Truly I wish to sleep, although I am not drowsy,*
> *That perchance thy beloved image may encounter mine.*"

Other Shaykhs whom I have seen agree with 'Ali b. Sahl in preferring wakefulness to sleep, because the apostles received their revelations and the saints their miracles while they were awake. One of the Shaykhs says: "If there were any good in sleep there would be sleep in Paradise," i.e., if sleep were the cause of love and proximity to God, it would follow that there must be sleep in Paradise, which is the dwelling place of proximity; since neither sleep nor any veil is in Paradise, we know that sleep is a veil. Those who are fond of subtleties (*arbab-i lata'if*) say that when Adam fell asleep in Paradise Eve came forth from his left side, and Eve was the source of all his afflictions. They say also that when Abraham told Ishmael that he had been ordered in a dream to sacrifice him, Ishmael replied: "This is the punishment due to one who sleeps and forgets his beloved. If you had not fallen asleep you would not have been commanded to sacrifice your son." It is related that Shibli every night used to place in front of him bowl of salt water and a needle for applying collyrium, and whenever he was about to fall asleep he would dip the needle in the salt water and draw it along his eyelids. I, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, have met with a spiritual director who used to sleep after finishing the performance of his obligatory acts of devotion; and I have

seen Shaykh Ahmad Samarqandi, who was living at Bukhara: during forty years he had never slept at night, but he used to sleep a little in the daytime. This question turns on the view taken of life and death. Those who prefer death to life must prefer sleep to waking, while those who prefer life to death must prefer waking to sleep. Merit belongs, not to the man who forces himself to keep awake, but to the man who is kept awake. The Apostle, whom God chose and whom He raised to the highest rank, did not force himself either to sleep or to wake. God commanded him, saying: "Rise and pray during the night, except a small part: Half thereof or less" (Qur.lxxiii,2-3). Similarly, merit does not belong to the man who forces himself to sleep, but only to the man who is put to sleep. The Men of the Cave did not constrain themselves to sleep or to wake, but God threw slumber upon them and nourished them without their will. When a man attains to such a degree that his will no longer exists, and his hand is withdrawn from everything, and his thoughts are averted from all except God, it matters not whether he is asleep or awake: in either case he is full of honour. Now, as regards the sleep of the novice, he ought to deem that his first sleep is his last, and repent of his sins and satisfy all who have a claim against him; and he ought to perform a comely purification and sleep on his right side, facing the qibla; and having set his worldly affairs in order, he ought to give thanks for the blessing of Islam, and make a vow that if he should wake again he will not return to sin. One who has set his affairs in order while he is awake has no fear of sleep or of death. A well-known story is told of a certain spiritual director, that he used to visit an Imam who was engrossed in maintaining his dignity and was a prey to self-conceit, and that he used to say to him: "O So-and-so, you must die." This offended the Imam, for "why (he said) should this beggar be always repeating these words to me?" One day he answered: "I will begin to-morrow." Next day when the spiritual director came in the Imam said to him:

"O So-and-so, you must die." He put down his prayer-rug and spread it out, and laid his head on it and exclaimed, "I am dead," and immediately yielded up his soul. The Imam took warning, and perceived that this spiritual director had been bidding him prepare for death, as he himself had done. My Shaykh used to enjoin his disciples not to sleep unless overpowered by slumber, and when they had once awaked not to fall asleep again, since a second sleep is unlawful and unprofitable to those who seek God.

Chapter concerning their Rules in Speech and Silence

God hath commanded His servants to speak well,e.g. to acknowledge His lordship and to praise Him and to call mankind to His court. Speech is a great blessing conferred on Man by God, and thereby is Man distinguished from all other things. Some interpreters of the text, "We have honoured the sons of Adam" (Qur.xvii,72), explain it as meaning "by the gift of speech". Nevertheless, in speech there are also great evils, for the Apostle said: "The worst that I fear for my people is the tongue." In short, speech is like wine: it intoxicates the mind, and those who begin to have a taste for it cannot abstain from it. Accordingly, the Sufis, knowing that speech is harmful, never spoke except when it was necessary, i.e. they considered the beginning and end of their discourse; if the whole was for God's sake, they spoke; otherwise they kept silence, because they firmly believed that God knows our secret thoughts (cf. Qur.xliii,80). The Apostle said: "He who keeps silence is saved." In silence there are many advantages and spiritual favours (*futuh*), and in speech there are many evils. Some Shaykhs have preferred silence to speech, while others have set speech above silence. Among the former is Junayd, who said: "Expressions are wholly pretensions, and where realities are established pretensions are idle."

Sometimes it is excusable not to speak although one has the will to do so, i.e. fear becomes an excuse for not speaking in spite of one's having the will and the power to speak; and refusal to speak of God does not impair the essence of gnosis. But at no time is a man excused for mere pretension devoid of reality, which is the principle of hypocrites. Pretension without reality is hypocrisy, and reality without pretension is sincerity, because "he who is grounded in eloquence needs no tongue to communicate with his Lord". Expressions only serve to inform another than God, for God Himself requires no explanation of our circumstances, and others than God are not worth so much that we should occupy ourselves with them. This is corroborated by the saying of Junayd, "He who knows God is dumb," for in actual vision (*'iyan*) exposition (*bayan*) is a veil. It is related that Shibli rose up in Junayd's meeting place and cried aloud, "O my object of desire!" and pointed to God. Junayd said: "O Abu Bakr, if God is the object of your desire, why do you point to Him, who is independent of this? And if the object of your desire is another, God knows what you say: why do you speak falsely?" Shibli asked God to pardon him for having uttered those words.

Those who put speech above silence argue that we are commanded by God to set forth our circumstances, for the pretension subsists in the reality, and vice versa. If a man continues for a thousand years to know God in his heart and soul, but has not confessed that he knows God, he is virtually an infidel unless his silence has been due to compulsion. God has bidden all believers give Him thanks and praise and rehearse His bounties, and He has promised to answer the prayers of those who invoke Him. One of the Shaykhs has said that whoever does not declare his spiritual state is without any spiritual state, since the state proclaims itself.

"The tongue of the state (lisan al-hal) is more eloquent than my tongue,
And my silence is the interpreter of my question."

I have read in the Anecdotes that one day when Abu Bakr Shibli was walking in the Karkh quarter of Baghdad he heard an impostor saying: "Silencc is better than speech." Shibli replied: "Thy silence is better than thy speech, but my speech is better than my silence, because thy speech is vanity and thy silence is an idlc jest, whereas my silence is modesty and my speech is knowledge." I, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, declarc that there are two kinds of speech and two kinds of silence: speech is either real or unreal, and silence is either fruition or forgetfulness. If one speaks truth, his speech is better than his silence, but if one speaks falsehood, his silence is better than his speech. "He who speaks hits the mark or misses it, but he who is made to speak is preserved from transgression." Thus Iblis said, "I am better than he" (Qur.xxxviii,77), but Adam was made to say, OL Lord, we have done wrong unto ourselves" (Qur.vii,22). The missionaries (*da'iyan*) of this sect are permitted or compelled to speak, and shame or helplessness strikes them dumb: "he whose silence is shame, his speech is life." Their speech is the result of vision, and speech without vision appears to them despicable. They prefer silence to speech so long as they are with themselves, but when they are beside themselves their words are written on the hearts of men. Hence that spiritual director said: "He whose silence to God is gold, his speech to another than God is gilt." The seeker of God, who is absorbed in servantship, must be silent, in order that the adept, who proclaims Lordship, may speak, and by his utterances may captivate the hearts of his disciples. The rule in speaking is not to speak unless bidden, and then only of the thing that is bidden; and the rule in silence is not to be ignorant or satisfied with ignorance or forgetful. The disciple must not

interrupt the speech of spiritual directors, or let his personal judgement intrude therein, or use far-fetched expressions in answering them. He must never tell a lie, or speak ill of the absent, or offend any Muslim with that tongue which has made the profession of faith and acknowledged the unity of God. He must not address dervishes by their bare names or speak to them until they ask a question. It behoves the dervish, when he is silent, not to be silent in falsehood, and when he speaks, to speak only the truth. This principle has many derivatives and innumerable refinements,but I will not pursue the subject, lest my book should become too long.

Chapter concerning their Rules in Asking

God hath said: "They ask not men with importunity" (Qur.ii,274). Any one of them who asks should not be repulsed, for God said to the Apostle: "Do not drive away the beggar" (Qur.xciii,10). As far as possible they should beg of God only, for begging involves turning away from God to another, and when a man turns away from God there is danger that God may leave him in that predicament. I have read that a certain worldling said to Rabi'a 'Adawiyya:[11] "O Rabi'a, ask something of me that I may procure what you wish." "O Sir, she replied, "I am ashamed to ask anything of the Creator of the world; how, then, should I not be ashamed to ask anything of a fellow-creature?" It is related that in the time of Abu Muslim, the head of the ('Abbasid) propaganda, an innocent dervish was seized on suspicion of theft, and was imprisoned at Chahar Taq.[12] On the same night Abu Muslim dreamed that the Apostle came to him and said: "God has sent me to tell you that one of His friends is in your prison. Arise and set him free." Abu Muslim leapt from his bed, and ran with bare head and feet to the prison gate, and gave orders to release the dervish, and begged his pardon and bade him ask a

boon. "O prince," he replied, "one whose Master rouses Abu Muslim at midnight, and sends him to deliver a poor dervish from affliction -- how should that one ask a boon of others?" Abu Muslim began to weep, and the dervish went on his way. Some, however, hold that a dervish may beg of his fellow creatures, since God says: "They ask not men with importunity," i.e. they may ask but not importune. The Apostle begged for the sake of providing for his companions, and he said to us: "Seek your wants from those whose faces are comely."

The Sufi Shaykhs consider begging to be permissible in three cases. Firstly, with the object of freeing one's mind from preoccupation, for, as they have said, we should not attach so much importance to two cakes of bread that we should spend the whole day and night in expecting them; and when we are starving we want nothing else of God, because no anxiety is so engrossing as anxiety on account of food. Therefore, when the disciple of Shaqiq visited Bayazid, and in answer to Bayazid's question as to the state of Shaqiq informed him that he was entirely disengaged from mankind, and was putting all his trust in God, Bayazid said: "When you return to Shaqiq, tell him to beware of again testing God with two loaves: if he is hungry, let him beg of his fellow-creatures and have done with the cant of trust in God." Secondly, it is permissible to beg with the object of training the lower soul. The Sufis beg in order that they may endure the humiliation of begging, and may perceive what is their worth in the eyes of other men, and may not be proud. When Shibli came to Junayd, Junayd said to him: "O Abu Bakr, your head is full of conceit, because you are the son of the Caliph's principal chamberlain and the governor of Samarra. No good will come from you until you go to the market and beg of everyone whom you see, that you may know your true worth." Shibli obeyed. He begged in the market for three

years, with ever decreasing success. One day, having gone through the whole market and got nothing, he returned to Junayd and told him. Junayd said: "Now, Abu Bakr, you see that you have no worth in the eyes of men: do not fix your heart on them. This matter (i.e. begging) is for the sake of discipline, not for the sake of profit." It is related that Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian said: "I had a friend who was in accord with God. After his death I saw him in a dream, and asked him how God had dealt with him. He answered that God had forgiven him. I asked him: 'On account of what virtue?' He replied that God raised him to his feet and said: 'My servant, you suffered with patience much contumely and tribulation from base and avaricious men, to whom you stretched out your hands: therefore I forgive you." Thirdly, they beg from mankind because of their reverence for God. They recognize that all worldly possessions belong to God, and they regard all mankind as His agents, from whom - not from. God Himself - they beg anything that is for the benefit of the lower soul; and in the eyes of one who beholds his own want, the servant that makes a petition to an agent is more reverent and obedient than he that makes a petition to God. Therefore, their begging from another is a sign of presence and of turning towards God, not a sign of absence and of turning away from Him. I have read that Yahya b. Mu'adh (al-Razi) had a daughter, who one day asked her mother for something. "Ask it of God," said the mother. "I am ashamed," the girl replied, "to ask a material want from Him. What you give me is His too and is my allotted portion." The rules of begging are as follows: If you beg unsuccessfully you should be more cheerful than when you succeed, and you should not regard any human creature as coming between God and yourself. You should not beg of women or market-folk (*ashab-i aswaq*), and you should not tell your secret to anyone unless you are sure that his money is lawful. As far as possible you should beg unselfishly, and

should not use the proceeds for worldly show and for housekeeping, or convert them into property. You should live in the present, and let no thought of the morrow enter your mind, else you will incur everlasting perdition. You should not make God a spring to catch alms, and you should not display piety in order that more alms maybe given to you on account of your piety. I once met an old and venerable Sufi, who had lost his way in the desert and came, hungerstricken, into the market place at Kufa with a sparrow perched on his hand, crying: "Give me something for the sake of this sparrow!" The people asked him why he said this. He replied. "It is impossible that I should say 'Give me something for God's sake!' One must employ the intercession of an insignificant creature to obtain worldly goods."

This is but a small part of the obligations involved in begging. I have abridged the topic for fear of being tedious.

Chapter concerning their Rules in Marriage and Celibacy and matters connected therewith

God hath said: "They (women) are a garment unto you and ye are a garment unto them" (Qur.ii,183). And the Apostle said: "Marry, that ye may multiple; for I will vaunt you against all other nations on the Day of Resurrection,even in respect of the still-born." And he said also: "The women who bring the greatest blessing are they who cost least to maintain, whose faces are comeliest, and whose dowries are cheapest." Marriage is permitted to all men and women, and is obligatory on those who cannot abstain from what is unlawful, and is a Sunnah (i.e. sanctioned by the custom of the Apostle) for those who are able to support a family. Some of the Sufi Shaykhs hold marriage to be desirable as a means of quelling lust, and acquisition (of sustenance) to be desirable as a means of

freeing the mind from anxiety. Others hold that the object of marriage is procreation; for, if the child dies before its father, it will intercede for him (before God), and if the father dies first, the child will remain to pray for him.[13] The Apostle said: "Women are married for four things: wealth, nobility, beauty, and religion. Do ye take one that is religious, for, after Islam, there is nothing that profits a man so much as a believing and obedient wife who gladdens him whenever he looks on her." And the Apostle said: "Satan is with the solitary," because Satan decks out lust and presents it to their minds. No companionship is equal in reverence and security to marriage, when husband and wife are congenial and well-suited to each other, and no torment and anxiety is so great as an uncongenial wife. Therefore the dervish must, in the first place, consider what he is doing and picture in his mind the evils of celibacy and of marriage, in order that he may choose the state of which he can more easily overcome the evils. The evils of celibacy are two: (1) the neglect of an Apostolic custom, (2) the fostering of lust in the heart and the danger of falling into unlawful ways. The evils of marriage are also two: (1) the preoccupation of the mind with other than God, (2) the distraction of the body for the sake of sensual pleasure. The root of this matter lies in retirement and companionship. Marriage is proper for those who prefer to associate with mankind, and celibacy is an ornament to those who seek retirement from mankind. The Apostle said: "Go: the recluses (al-mufarridun) have preceded you." And Hasan of Basra says: "The lightly burdened shall be saved and the heavily laden shall perish." Ibrahim Khawwas relates the following story: "I went to a certain village to visit a reverend man who lived there. When I entered his house I saw that it was clean, like a saint's place of worship. In its two corners two niches (*mihrab*) had been made; the old man was seated in one of them, and in the other niche an old woman was sitting, clean and bright:

both had become weak through much devotion. They showed great joy at my coming, and I stayed with them for three days. When I was about to depart I asked the old man, 'What relation is this chaste woman to you?' He answered, 'She is my cousin and my wife.' I said, 'During these three days your intercourse with one another has been very like that of strangers.' 'Yes,' said he, 'it has been so for five and sixty years.' I asked him the cause of this. He replied: 'When we were young we fell in love, but her father would not give her to me, for he had discovered our fondness for each other. I bore this sorrow for a long while, but on her father's death my father, who was her uncle, gave me her hand. On the wedding-night she said to me: "You know what happiness God has bestowed upon us in bringing us together and taking all fear away from our hearts. Let us therefore tonight refrain from sensual passion and trample on our desires and worship God in thanksgiving for this happiness." I said, "It is well." Next night she bade me do the same. On the third night I said, "Now we have given thanks for two nights for your sake; tonight let us worship God for my sake." Five and sixty years have passed since then, and we have never touched one another, but spend all our lives in giving thanks for our happiness.'" Accordingly, when a dervish chooses companionship, it behoves him to provide his wife with lawful food and pay her dowry out of lawful property, and not indulge in sensual pleasure so long as any obligation towards God, or any part of His commandments, is unfulfilled. And when he performs his devotions and is about to go to bed, let him say, as in secret converse with God: "O Lord God, Thou hast mingled lust with Adam's clay in order that the world maybe populated, and Thou in Thy knowledge hast willed that I should have this intercourse. Cause it to be for the sake of two things: firstly, to guard that which is unlawful by means of that which is lawful; and secondly, vouchsafe to me a child, saintly and acceptable, not one who will divert my thoughts

from Thee." It is related that a son was born to Sahl b. 'Abdullah al-Tustari. Whenever the child asked his mother for food, she used to bid him ask God, and while he went to the niche (*mihrab*) and bowed himself in prayer, she used secretly to give him what he wanted, without letting him know that his mother had given it to him. Thus he grew accustomed to turn unto God. One day he came back from school when his mother was absent, and bowed himself in prayer. God caused the thing that he sought to appear before him. When his mother came in she asked, "Where did you get this?" He answered, "From the place whence it comes always."

The practice of an Apostolic rule of life must not lead the dervish to seek worldly wealth and unlawful gain or preoccupy his heart, for the dervish is ruined by the destruction of his heart, just as the rich man is ruined by the destruction of his house and furniture; but the rich man can repair his loss, while the dervish cannot. In our time it is impossible for anyone to have a suitable wife, whose wants are not excessive and whose demands are not unreasonable. Therefore many persons have adopted celibacy and observe the Apostolic Tradition: "The best of men in latter days will be those who are light of back," i.e. who have neither wife nor child. It is the unanimous opinion of the Shaykhs of this sect that the best and most excellent Sufis are the celibates, if their hearts are uncontaminated and if their natures are not inclined to sins and lusts. The vulgar, in gratifying their lusts, appeal to the Apostle's saying, that the three things he loved in the world were scent, women, and prayer, and argue that since he loved women marriage must be more excellent than celibacy. I reply: "The Apostle also said that he had two trades, namely, poverty (*faqr*) and the spiritual combat (*jihad*): why, then, do ye shun these things? If he loved that (viz. marriage), this (viz. celibacy) was his trade. Your desires have a greater propensity to the former, but it

is absurd, on that ground, to say that he loves what you desire. Anyone who follows his desires for fifty years and supposes that he is following the practice of the Apostle is in grave error." A woman was the cause of the first calamity that overtook Adam in Paradise, and also of the first quarrel that happened in this world, i.e. the quarrel of Abel and Cain. A woman was the cause of the punishment inflicted on the two angels (*Harut and Marut*); and down to the present day all mischiefs, worldly and religious have been caused by women. After God had preserved me for eleven years from the dangers of matrimony, it was my destiny to fall in love with the description of a woman whom I had never seen, and during a whole year my passion so absorbed me that my religion was near being ruined, until at last God in His bounty gave protection to my wretched heart and mercifully delivered me. In short, Sufi'ism was founded on celibacy; the introduction of marriage brought about a change. There is no flame of lust that cannot be extinguished by strenuous effort, because, whatever vice proceeds from yourself, you possess the instrument that will remove it: another is not necessary for that purpose. Now the removal of lust maybe effected by two things, one of which involves self-constraint (*takalluf*), while the other lies outside the sphere of human action and mortification. The former is hunger, the latter is an agitating fear or a true love, which is collected by the dispersion of (sensual) thoughts: a love which extends its empire over the different parts of the body and divests all the senses of their sensual quality. Ahmad Hammadi of Sarakhs, who went to Transoxania and lived there, was a venerable man. On being asked whether he desired to marry, he answered: "No, because I am either absent from myself or present with myself: when I am absent, I have no consciousness of the two worlds; and when I am present, I keep my lower soul in such wise that when it gets a loaf of bread it thinks that it has got a thousand houris. It is a great

thing to occupy the mind: let it be anxious about whatsoever you will." Others, again, recommend that neither state (marriage or celibacy) should be regarded with predilection, in order that we may see what the decree of Divine providence will bring to light: if celibacy be our lot, we should strive to be chaste, and if marriage be our destiny, we should comply with the custom of the Apostle and strive to clear our hearts (of worldly anxieties). When God ordains celibacy unto a man, his celibacy should be like that of Joseph, who, although he was able to satisfy his desire for Zulaykha, turned away from her and busied himself with subduing his passion and considering the vices of his lower soul at the moment when Zulaykha was alone with him. And if God ordains marriage unto a man, his marriage should be like that of Abraham, who by reason of his absolute confidence in God put aside all care for his wife; and when Sarah became jealous he took Hagar and brought her to a barren valley and committed her to the care of God. Accordingly, a man is not ruined by marriage or by celibacy, but the mischief consists in asserting one's will and in yielding to one's desires. The married man ought to observe the following rules. He should not leave any act of devotion undone, or let any "state" be lost or any "time" be wasted. He should be kind to his wife and should provide her with lawful expenses, and he should not pay court to tyrants and governors with the object of meeting her expenses. He should behave thus, in order that, if a child is born, it maybe such as it ought to be. A well-known story is told of Ahmad b. Harb of Nishapur, that one day, when he was sitting with the chiefs and nobles of Nishapur who had come to offer their respects to him, his son entered the room, drunk, playing a guitar, and singing, and passed by insolently without heeding them. Ahmad, perceiving that they were put out of countenance, said: "What is the matter?" They replied: "We are ashamed that this lad should pass by you in such a state." Ahmad said: "He is

excusable. One night my wife and I partook of some food that was brought to us from a neighbour's house. That same night this son was begotten, and we fell asleep and let our devotions go. Next morning we inquired of our neighbour as to the source of the food that he had sent to us, and we found that it came from a wedding feast in the house of a government official." The following rules should be observed by the celibate. He must not see what is improper to see or think what is improper to think, and he must quench the flames of lust by hunger and guard his heart from this world and from preoccupation with phenomena, and he must not call the desire of his lower soul "knowledge" or "inspiration", and he must not make the wiles (*bu 'l-'ajabi*) of Satan a pretext (for sin). If he acts thus he will be approved in Sufi'ism.

1 Kumand, according to Nafahat, No.379.
2 "The Rectification of Discipleship."
3 So all the texts, instead of the correct li-huquq.
4 "The Observance of what is due to God."
5 "Rules of Conduct for Disciples.
6 Nafahat, No.129.
7 Another reading is asma, "names," but I find asmar in the MS. Of the Ritab al-Luma belonging to Mr. A.G. Ellis, where this passage occurs on f. 63 a.
8 I. Ibn al-'Ala.
9 See Baydawi on Kor. Ix, 76.
10 Generally known as Majnun, the lover of Layla. See Brockelmann, I, 48.
11 Nafahat, No.578; Ibn Khallikan, No.230.
12 A village, mentioned by Ibn al-Athir (x, 428, 24) in the vicinity of Baghdad.
13 Here a story is told of the Caliph 'Umar, who asked Umm Kulthum, the Prophet's granddaughter, in marriage from her father 'Ali.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE UNCOVERING OF THE TENTH VEIL: EXPLAINING THEIR PHRASEOLOGY AND THE DEFINITIONS OF THEIR TERMS AND THE VERITIES OF THE IDEAS WHICH ARE SIGNIFIED

Those employed in every craft and business, while discussing its mysteries with one another, make use of certain words and expressions of which the meaning is known only to themselves. Such expressions are invented for a double purpose: firstly, in order to facilitate the understanding of difficulties and bring them nearer to the comprehension of the novice; and secondly, in order to conceal the mysteries of that science from the uninitiated. The Sufis also have technical terms for the purpose of expressing the matter of their discourse and in order that they may reveal or disguise their meaning as they please. I will now explain some of these terms and distinguish between the significations attached to various pairs of words.

Hal and Waqt

Waqt (time) is a term with which Sufis are familiar, and concerning which much has been said by the Shaykhs, but my object is to establish the truth, not to give long explanations. *Waqt* is that whereby a man becomes independent of the past and the future, as, for example, when an influence from God descends into his soul and makes his heart collected *(mujtami')* he has no memory of the past and no thought of that which is not yet come. All people fail in this, and do not know what our past has been

or what our future will be, except the possessors of waqt, who say: "Our knowledge cannot apprehend the future and the past, and we are happy with God in the present (*andar waqt*). If we occupy ourselves with tomorrow, or let any thought of it enter our minds, we shall be veiled (from God), and a veil is a great, distraction (*paragandagi*)." It is absurd to think of the unattainable. Thus Abu Sa'id Kharraz says: "Do not occupy your precious time except with the most precious of things, and the most precious of human things is the state of being occupied between the past and the future." And the Apostle said: "I have a time (*waqt*) with God, in which none of the cherubim nor any prophet rivals me," that is to say, "in which the eighteen thousand worlds do not occur to my mind and have no worth in my eyes." Therefore, on the night of the Ascension, when the kingdom of earth and heaven was arrayed before him in all its beauty, he did not look at anything (Qur.liii,17), for Mustafa was noble (*'aziz*), and the noble are not engrossed save by that which is noble. The "times" (*awqat*) of the Unitarian are two: one in the state of loss (*faqd*) and one in the state of gain (*wajd*), one in the place of union and one in the place of separation. At both these times he is overpowered (*maqhur*), because both his union and his separation are effected by God without such volition or acquisition on his part as would make it possible to invest him with any attribute. When a man's power of volition is cut off from him, whatever he does or experiences is the result of "time" (waqt). It is related that Junayd said: "I saw a dervish in the desert, sitting under a mimosa tree in a hard and uncomfortable spot, and asked him what made him sit there so still. He answered: 'I had a "time" and lost it here; now I am sitting and mourning.' I inquired how long he had been there. He answered: 'Twelve years. Will not the Shaykh offer up a prayer (*himmati kunad*) on my behalf, that perchance I may find my "time" again?' I left him," said Junayd, "and performed the pilgrimage and prayed for

him. My prayer was granted. On my return I found him seated in the same place. 'Why,' I said, 'do you not go from here, since you have obtained your wish?' He replied: 'O Shaykh, I settled myself in this place of desolation where I lost my capital: is it right that I should leave the place where I have found my capital once more and where I enjoy the society of God? Let the Shaykh go in peace, for I will mix my dust with the dust of this spot, that I may rise at the Resurrection from this dust which is the abode of my delight." No man can attain to the reality of "time" by exerting his choice, for "time" is a thing that does not come within the scope of human acquisition, that it should be gained by effort, nor is it sold in the market, that anyone should give his life in exchange for it, and the will has no power either to attact or to repel it. The Shaykhs have said, "Time is a cutting sword," because it is characteristic of a sword to cut, and "time" cuts the root of the future and the past, and obliterates care of yesterday and tomorrow from the heart. The sword is a dangerous companion: either it makes its master a king or it destroys him. Although one should pay homage to the sword and carry it on one's own shoulder for a thousand years, in the moment of cutting it does not discriminate between its master's neck and the neck of another. Violence (*qahr*) is its characteristic, and violence will not depart from it at the wish of its master.

Hal (state) is that which descends upon "time" (*waqt*) and adorns it, as the spirit adorns the body. *Waqt* has need of *hal*, for *waqt* is beautified by hal and subsists thereby. When the owner of *waqt* comes into possession of *hal*, he is no more subject to change and is made steadfast (mustaqim) in his state; for, when he has *waqt* without *hal*, he may lose it, but when *hal* attaches itself to him, all his state (*ruzgar*) becomes *waqt*, and that cannot be lost: what seems to be coming and going (*amad shud*) is really the result of becoming and manifestation (*takawwun u zuhur*),

just as, before this, *waqt* descended on him who has it. He who is in the state of becoming (*mutakawwin*) maybe forgetful, and on him who is thus forgetful *hal* descends and waqt is made stable (*mutamakkin*); for the possessor of *waqt* may become forgetful, but the possessor of *hal* cannot possibly be so. The tongue of the possessor of *hal* is silent concerning his *hal*, but his actions proclaim the reality of his *hal*. Hence that spiritual director said: "To ask about *hal* is absurd," because *hal* is the annihilation of speech (*maqal*). Master Abu 'Ali Daqqaq says: "If there is joy or woe in this world or the next world, the portion of *waqt* is that (feeling) in which thou art." But *hal* is not like this; when *hal* comes on a man from God, it banishes all these feelings from his heart. Thus Jacob was a possessor of waqt: now he was blinded by separation, now he was restored to sight by union, now he was mouning and wailing, now he was calm and joyful. But Abraham was a possessor of *hal*: he was not conscious of separation, that he should be stricken with grief, nor of union, that he should be filled with joy. The sun and moon and stars contributed to his *hal*, but he, while he gazed, was independent of them: whatever he looked on, he saw only God, and he said: "I love not them that set" (Qur.vi,76). Accordingly, the world sometimes becomes a hell to the possessor of *waqt*, because he is contemplating absence (*ghaybat*) and his heart is distressed by the loss of his beloved; and sometimes his heart is like a Paradise in the blessedness of contemplation, and every moment brings to him a gift and a glad message from God. On the other hand, it makes no difference to the possessor of *hal* whether he is veiled by affliction or unveiled by happiness; for he is always in the place of actual vision (*'iyan*). Hal is an attribute of the object desired (*murad*), while *waqt* is the rank of the desirer (*murid*). The latter is with himself in the pleasure of *waqt*, the former with God in the delight of *hal*. How far apart are the two degrees!

Maqam and *Tamkin*, and the difference between them

Maq'am (station) denotes the perserverance of the seeker in fulfilling his obligations towards the object of his search with strenuous exertion and flawless intention. Everyone who desires God has a station (*maqam*), which, in the beginning of his search, is a means whereby he seeks God. Although the seeker derives some benefit from every station through which he passes, he finally rests in one, because a station and the quest thereof involve contrivance and design (*tarkib u hila*), not conduct and practice (*rawish u mu'amalat*). God hath said: "None of us but hath a certain station" (Qur.xxxvii,164). The station of Adam was repentance (*tawbah*), that of Noah was renunciation (zuhd), that of Abraham was resignation (*taslim*), that of Moses was contrition (*inabat*), that of David was sorrow (*huzn*), that of Jesus was hope (raja), that of John (the Baptist) was fear (*khaw*), and that of our Apostle was praise (*dhikr*). They drew something from other sources by which they abode, but each of them returned at last to his original station. In discussing the doctrine of the Muhasibis, I gave a partial explanation of the stations and distinguished between *hal* and *maqam*. Here, however, it is necessary to make some further remarks on this subject. You must know that the Way to God is of three kinds: (1) *maqam*, (2) *hal*, (3) *tamkin*. God sent all the prophets to explain the Way and to elucidate the principle of the different stations. One hundred and twenty four thousand apostles, and a few over that number, came with as many stations. On the advent of our Apostle a *hal* appeared to those in each station and attained a pitch where all human acquisition was left behind, until religion was made perfect unto men, as God hath said: "To-day I have perfected your religion for you and have completed My bounty unto you" (Qur.v,5); then the tamkin (steadfastness) of the steadfast appeared; but if I were to enumerate every *hal* and explain every *maqam*, my

purpose would be defeated.

Tamkin denotes the residence of spiritual adepts in the abode of perfection and in the highest grade. Those in stations can pass on from their stations, but it is impossible to pass beyond the grade of *tamkin*, because *maqam* is the grade of beginners, whereas *tamkin* is the resting place of adepts, and *maqamat* (stations) are stages on the way, whereas *tamkin* is repose within the shrine. The friends of God are absent (from themselves) on the way and are strangers (to themselves) in the stages: their hearts are in the presence (of God), and in the presence every instrument is evil and every tool is (a token of) absence (from God) and infirmity. In the epoch of Paganism the poets used to praise men for noble deeds, but they did not recite their panegyric until some time had elapsed. When a poet came into the presence of the person whom he had celebrated, he used to draw his sword and hamstring his camel and then break his sword, as though to say: "I needed a camel to bring me from a far distance to thy presence, and a sword to repel the envious who would have hindered me from paying homage to thee: now that I have reached thee, I kill my camel, for I will never depart from thee again; and I break my sword, for I will not admit into my mind the thought of being severed from thy court." Then, after a few days, he used to recite his poem. Similarly, when Moses attained to *tamkin*, God bade him put off his shoes and cast away his staff (Qur.xx,12), these being articles of travel and Moses being in the presence of God. The beginning of love is search, but the end is rest: water flows in the river bed, but when it reaches the ocean it ceases to flow and changes its taste, so that those who desire water avoid it, but those who desire pearls devote themselves to death and fasten the plummet of search to their feet and plunge headlong into the sea, that they may either gain the hidden pearl or lose their dear lives. And one of the Shaykhs says:

"*Tamkin* is the removal of *talwin*." *Talwin* also is a technical term of the Sufis, and is closely connected in meaning with *tamkin*, just as *hal* is connected with *maqam*. The signification of *talwin* is change and turning from one state to another, and the above mentioned saying means that he who is steadfast (*mutamakkin*) is not vacillating (*mutaraddid*), for he has carried all that belongs to him into the presence of God and has erased every thought of other than God from his mind, so that no act that passes over him alters his outward predicament and no state changes his inward predicament. Thus Moses was subject to *talwin*: he fell in a swoon (Qur.vii,139) when God revealed His glory to Mount Sinai; but Muhammad was steadfast: he suffered no change, although he was in the very revelation of glory from Makkah to a space of two bow-lengths from God; and this is the highest grade. Now *tamkin* is of two kinds - one referring to the dominant influence of God (*shahid-i haqq*), and the other referring to the dominant influence of one's self (*shahid-i khud*). He whose *tamkin* is of the latter kind retains his attributes unimpaired, but he whose *tamkin* is of the former kind has no attributes; and the terms effacement (*mahw*), sobriety (*sahw*), attainment (*lahq*), destruction (*mahq*),[1] annihilation (*fana*), subsistence (*baqa*), being (*wujud*), and not being (*'adam*) are not properly applied to one whose attributes are annihilated, because a subject is necessary for the maintenance of these qualities, and when the subject is absorbed (*mustaghriq*) he loses the capacity for maintaining them.

Muhadarat and *Mukashafat*, and the difference between them.

Muhadarat denotes the presence of the heart in the subtleties of demonstration (*bayan*), while *mukashafat* denotes the presence of the spirit (*sirr*) in the domain of actual vision ('iyan). *Muhadarat* refers to the evidences of God's signs (*ayat*), and *mukashafat* to the evidences of

contemplation (*mushahadah*). The mark of *muhadarat* is continual meditation upon God's signs, while the mark of *mukashafat* is continual amazement at God's infinite greatness. There is a difference between one who meditates upon the Divine acts and one who is amazed at the Divine majesty: the one is a follower of friendship, the other is a companion of love. When the Friend of God (Abraham) looked on the kingdom of heaven and meditated on the reality of its existence, his heart was made "present" (*hadir*) thereby: through beholding the act he became a seeker of the Agent; his "presence" (*hudur*) made the act a proof of the Agent, and in perfect gnosis he exclaimed: "I turn my face with true belief unto Him who created the heavens and the earth" (Qur.vi,79). But when the Beloved of God (Muhammad) was borne to Heaven he shut his eyes from the sight of all things; he saw neither God's act nor created beings nor himself, but the Agent was revealed to him, and in that revelation (*kashf*) his desire increased: in vain he sought vision, proximity, union; in proportion as the exemption (*tanzih*) of his Beloved (from all such conceptions) became more manifest to him the more did his desire increase; he could neither turn back nor go forward, hence he fell into amazement. Where friendship was, amazement seemed infidelity, but where love was, union was polytheism, and amazement became the sole resource, because in friendship the object of amazement was being (*hasti*), and such amazement is polytheism, but in love the object of amazement was nature and quality (*chigunagi*), and this amazement is unification (*tawhid*). In this sense Shibli used always to say: "O Guide of the amazed, increase my amazement!" for in contemplation (of God) the greater one's amazement the higher one's degree. The story of Abu Sa'id Kharraz and Ibrahim b. Sa'd 'Alawi[2] is well known -- how they saw a friend of God on the seashore and asked him "What is the Way to God?" and how he answered that there are two ways to God, one for the vulgar

and one for the elect. When they desired him to explain this he said: "They way of the vulgar is that on which you are going: you accept for some cause and you decline for some cause; but the way of the elect is to see only the Causer, and not to see the cause." The true meaning of these anecdotes has already been set forth.

Qabd and Bast, and the difference between them

Qabd (contraction) and *bast* (expansion) are two involuntary states which cannot be induced by any human act or banished by any human exertion. God hath said: "God contracts and expands" (Qur.ii,246). *Qabd* denotes the contraction of the heart in the state of being veiled (*hijab*), and bast denotes the expansion of the heart in the state of revelation (*kashf*). Both states proceed from God without effort on the part of Man. The *qabd* of gnostics is like the fear of novices, and the *bast* of gnostics is like the hope of novices. This is the sense in which the Sufis use the terms *qabd* and *bast*. Some Shaykhs hold that *qabd* is superior in degree to *bast*, for two reasons: (1) it is mentioned before *bast* in the Quran, (2) *qabd* involves dissolution and oppression, whereas *bast* involves nutrition and favour: it is undoubtedly better to dissolve one's humanity and oppress one's lower soul than to foster and favour them, since they are the greatest veil (between Man and God). Others, again, hold that *bast* is superior to qabd. The fact, they say that *qabd* is mentioned before *bast* in the Quran shows the superiority of *bast*, for the Arabs are accustomed to mention in the first place that which is inferior in merit, e.g. God hath said: "There is one of them who injures his own soul, and one who keeps the middle way, and one who outstrips the others in good works by the permission of God" (Qur.xxxv,29). Moreover, they argue that in *bast* there is joy and in qabd grief; gnostics feel joy only in union with the object of knowledge, and grief only

in separation from the object of desire, therefore rest in the abode of union is better than rest in the abode of separation. My Shaykh used to say that both *qabd* and *bast* are the result of one spiritual influence, which descends from God on Man, and either fills the heart with joy and subdues the lower soul or subdues the heart and fills the lower soul with joy; in the latter case contraction (*qabd*) of the heart is expansion (*bast*) of the lower soul, and in the former case expansion of the heart is contraction of the lower soul. He who interprets this matter otherwise is wasting his breath. Hence Bayazid said: "The contraction of hearts consists in the expansion of souls, and the expansion of hearts in the contraction of souls." The contracted soul is guarded from injury, and the expanded heart is restrained from falling into defect, because jealousy is the rule in love, and contraction is a sign of God's jealousy; and it is necessary that lovers should reproach one another, and expansion is a sign of mutual reproach. It is a well-known tradition that John wept ever since he was born, while Jesus smiled ever since he was born, because John was in contraction and Jesus in expansion. When they met John used to say, "O Jesus, hast thou no fear of being cut off (from God)?" and Jesus used to say, "O John, hast thou no hope of God's mercy? Neither thy tears nor my smiles will change the eternal decree of God."

Uns and *Haybat*, and the difference between them

Uns (intimacy) and *haybat* (awe) are two states of the dervishes who travel on the Way to God. When God manifests His glory to a man's heart so that His majesty (*jalal*) predominates, he feels awe (*haybat*), but when God's beauty (*jamal*) predominates he feels intimacy (*uns*): those who feel awe are distressed, while those who feel intimacy are rejoiced. There is a difference between one who is burned by His majesty in the fire of love and one who is illuminated by His beauty in the light of contemplation.

Some Shaykhs have said that *haybat* is the degree of gnostics and *uns* the degree of novices, because the farther one has advanced in the presence of God and in divesting Him of attributes the more his heart is overwhelmed with awe and the more averse he is to intimacy, for one is intimate with those of one's own kind, and intimacy with God is inconceivable, since no homogeneity or resemblance can possibly exist between God and Man. If intimacy is possible, it is possible only with the praise (*dhikr*) of Him, which is something different from Himself, because that is an attribute of Man; and in love, to be satisfied with another than the Beloved is falsehood and pretension and self-conceit. *Haybat*, on the other hand, arises from contemplating greatness, which is an attribute of God, and there is a vast difference between one whose experience proceeds from himself through himself and one whose experience proceeds from the annihilation of himself through the subsistence of God. It is related that Shibli said: "For a long time I used to think that I was rejoicing in the love of God and was intimate with contemplation of Him: now I know that intimacy is impossible except with a congener." Some, however, allege that *haybat* is a corollary of separation and punishment, while *uns* is the result of union and mercy; therefore the friends of God must be guarded from the consequences of *haybat* and be attached to *uns*, for *uns* involves love, and as homogeneity is impossible in love (of God), so it is impossible in uns. My Shaykh used to say: "I wonder at those who declare intimacy with God to be impossible, after God has said, 'Verily My servants,' and 'Say to My servants', and 'When My servants shall ask thee', and 'O My servants, no fear shall come on you this day, and ye shall not grieve' (Qur.xliii,68). A servant of God, seeing this favour, cannot fail to love Him, and when he has loved he will become intimate, because awe of one's beloved is estrangement (*beganagi*), whereas intimacy is oneness (*yaganagi*). It is

characteristic of men to become intimate with their benefactors, and inasmuch as God has conferred on us so great benefits and we have knowledge of Him, it is impossible of Him, it is impossible that we should talk of awe." I, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, say that both parties in this controversy are right, because the power of *haybat* is exerted upon the lower soul and its desires, and tends to annihilate human nature, while the power of *uns* is exerted upon the heart and tends to foster gnosis in the heart. Therefore God annihilates the souls of those who love Him by revealing His majesty and endows their hearts with everlasting life by revealing His beauty. The followers of annihilation (*fana*) regard *haybat* as superior, but the followers of subsistence (*baqa*) prefer *uns*.

Qahr and Lutf, and the difference between them

These two expressions are used by the Sufis in reference to their own state. By *qahr* (violence) they signify the reinforcement given to them by God in annihilating their desires and in restraining the lower soul from its concupiscence; and by *lutf* (kindness) they signify God's help towards the subsistence of their hearts and towards the continuance of contemplation and towards the permanence of ecstasy in the degree of steadfastness (*istiqamat*). The adherents of *lutf* say Divine grace (*karamat*) is the attainment of one's desire, but the others say that Divine grace is this -- that God through His will should restrain a man from his own will and should overpower him with will-lessness (*bemuradi*), so that if he were thirsty and plunged into a river, the river would become dry. It is related that in Baghdad were two eminent dervishes, the one a believer in *qahr* and the other a believer in *lutf*, who were always quarrelling and each preferring his own state to that of his neighbour. The dervish who preferred *lutf* set out for Makkah and entered

negated, but Man's choice is accidental (*'aradi*) and admits of negation, and must be trodden under foot, that the eternal choice of God may subsist for ever.[3] There has been much debate on this matter, but my sole aim is that you should know the signification of the terms used by the Sufis. I have mentioned some of these, e.g., jam' and *tafriqa*, and fana and *baqa*, and *ghaybat* and *hudur*, and *sukr* and *sahw*, in the chapter treating of the doctrines of the Sufis, and you must look there for the explanation of them.

Musamarat and Muhadathat, and the difference between them

These terms denote two states of the perfect Sufi. *Muhadathat* (conversation) is really spiritual talk conjoined with silence of the tongue, and *musamarat* (nocturnal discourse) is really continuance of unrestraint (*inbisat*) combined with concealment of the most secret thoughts (*kitman-i sirr*). The outward meaning of *musamarat* is a spiritual state (*waqti*) existing between God and Man at night, and *muhadathat* is a similar state, existing by day, in which there is exoteric and esoteric conversation. Hence secret prayers (*munajat*) by night are called *musamarat*, while invocations made by day are called *muhadathat*. The daily state is based on revelation (*kashf*), and the nightly state on occulation (*satr*). In love *musamarat* is more perfect than *muhadathat*, and is connected with the state of the Apostle, when God sent Gabriel to him with Buraq and conveyed him by night from Makkah to a space of two bow-lengths from His presence. The Apostle conversed secretly with God, and when he reached the goal his tongue became dumb before the revelation of God's majesty, and his heart was amazed at His infinite greatness, and he said: "I cannot tell Thy praise." Muhadathat is connected with the state of Moses, who, seeking communion with God, after forty days came to Mount Sinai and heard the speech

of God and asked for vision of Him, and failed of his desire. There is a plain difference between one who was conducted (Qur.xvii,1) and one who came (Qur.vii,139). Night is the time when lovers are alone with each other, and day is the time when servants wait upon their masters. When a servant transgresses he is reprimanded, but a lover has no law by the transgression of which he should incur blame, for lovers cannot do anything displeasing to each other.

'Ilm al-Yaqin and *'Ayn al-Yaqin* and *Haqq al-Yaqin*, and the difference between them

According to the principles of theology, all these expressions denote knowledge (*'ilm*). Knowledge without certain faith (*yaqin*) in the reality of the object known is not knowledge, but when knowledge is gained that which is hidden is as that which is actually seen. The believers who shall see God on the Day of Judgment shall see Him then in the same wise as they know Him now: if they shall see Him otherwise, either their vision will be imperfect then or their knowledge is faulty now. Both these alternatives are in contradiction with unification (*tawhid*), which requires that men's knowledge of God should sound today and their vision of God should be sound to-morrow. Therefore certain knowledge (*'ilm-i yaqin*) is like certain sight (*'ayn-i yaqin*), and certain truth (*haqq-i yaqin*) is like certain knowledge. Some have said that *'ayn al-yaqin* is the complete absorption (*istighraq*) of knowledge in vision, but this is impossible, because vision is an instrument for the attainment of knowledge, like hearing, etc.: since knowledge cannot be absorbed in hearing, its absorption in vision is equally impossible. By *'ilm al-yaqin* the Sufis mean knowledge of (religious) practice in this world according to the Divine commandments; by *'ayn al-yaqin* they mean knowledge of the state of dying (*naz'*) and the

time of departure from this world; and by *haqq al-yaqin* they mean intuitive knowledge of the vision (of God) that will be revealed in Paradise, and of its nature. Therefore *'ilm al-yaqin* is the rank of theologians ('ulama) on account of their correct observance of the Divine commands, and 'ayn al-yaqin is the station of gnostics (*'arifan*) on account of their readiness for death, and *haqq al-yaqin* is the annihilation point of lovers (dustan) on account of their rejection of all created things. Hence *'ilm al-yaqin* is obtained by self-mortification (*mujahadah*), and *'ayn al-yaqin* by intimate familiarity (*mu'anasat*), and *haqq al-yaqin* by contemplation (*mushahadah*). The first is vulgar, the second is elect, and the third is super-elect (*khass al-khass*).

'Ilm and *Ma'rifat*, and the difference between them

Theologians have made no distinction between *'ilm* and *ma'rifat*, except when they say that God maybe called *'alim* (knowing), but not *'arif* (gnostic), inasmuch as the latter epithet lacks Divine blessing. But the Sufi Shaykhs give the name of *ma'rifat* (gnosis) to every knowledge that is allied with (religious) practice and feeling (*hal*), and the knower of which expresses his feeling; and the knower thereof they call *'arif*. On the other hand, they give the name of *'ilm* to every knowledge that is stripped of spiritual meaning and devoid of religious practice, and one who has such knowledge they call *'alim*. One, then, who knows the meaning and reality of a thing they call *'arif* (gnostic), and one who knows merely the verbal expression and keeps it in his memory without keeping the spiritual reality they call 'alim. For this reason, when the Sufis wish to disparage a rival they call him *danishmand* (possessing knowledge). To the vulgar this seems objectionable, but the Sufis do not intend to blame the man for having acquired knowledge, they blame him for neglecting the practice of religion,

because the *'alim* depends on himself, but the *'arif* depends on his Lord. This question has been discussed at length in the chapter entitled "The Removal of the Veil of Gnosis", and I need not say any more now.

Shari'at and *Haqiqat*, and the difference between them

These terms are used by the Sufis to denote soundness of the outward state and maintenance of the inward state. Two parties err in this matter: firstly, the formal theologians, who assert that there is no distinction between *shari'at* (law) and *haqiqat* (truth), since the Law is the Truth and the Truth is the Law; secondly, some heretics, who hold that it is possible for one of these things to subsist without the other, and declare that when the Truth is revealed the Law is abolished. This is the doctrine of the Carmathians (*Qaramita*) and the Shi'ites and their satanically inspired followers (*muwaswisan*). The proof that the Law is virtually separate from the Truth lies in the fact that in faith belief is separate from profession; and the proof that the Law and the Truth are not fundamentally separate, but are one, lies in the fact that belief without profession is not faith, and conversely profession without belief is not faith; and there is a manifest difference between profession and belief. *Haqiqat*, then, signifies a reality which does not admit of abrogation and remains in equal force from the time of Adam to the end of the world, like knowledge of God and like religious practice, which is made perfect by sincere intention; and *shari'at* signifies a reality which admits of abrogation and alteration, like ordinances and commandments. Therefore *shari'at* is Man's act, while *haqiqat* is God's keeping and preservation and protection, whence it follows that *shari'at* cannot possibly be maintained without the existence of *haqiqat*, and *haqiqat* cannot be maintained without observance of

shari'at. Their mutual relation maybe compared to that of body and spirit: when the spirit departs from the body the living body becomes a corpse and the spirit vanishes like wind, for their value depends on their conjunction with one another. Similarly, the Law without the Truth is ostentation, and the Truth without the Law is hypocrisy. God hath said: "Whosoever mortify themselves for Our sake, We will assuredly guide them in Our ways" (Qur.xxix, 69): mortification is Law, guidance is Truth; the former consists in a man's observance of the external ordinances, while the latter consists in God's maintenance of a man's spiritual feelings. Hence the Law is one of the acts acquired by Man, but the Truth is one of the gifts bestowed by God.

Another class of terms and expressions are used by the Sufis metaphorically. These metaphorical terms are more difficult to analyse and interpret, but I will explain them concisely.

Haqq. By *haqq* (truth) the Sufis mean God, for haqq is one of the names of God, as He hath said: "This is because God is the Truth" (Qur.xxii,6).

Haqiqat. By this word they mean a man's dwelling in the place of union with God, and the standing of his heart in the place of abstraction (*tanzih*).

Khatarat. Any judgments of separation (*ahkam-i tafriq*) that occur to the mind.

Watanat. Any Divine meanings that make their abode in the heart.

Tams. Negation of a substance of which some trace is left.

Rams. Negation of a substance, together with every

trace thereof, from the heart.

'Ala'iq. Secondary causes to which seekers of God attach themselves and thereby fail to gain the object of their desire.

Wasa'it. Secondary causes to which seekers of God attach themselves and thereby gain the object of their desire.

Zawa'id. Excess of lights (spiritual illumination) in the heart.

Fawa'id. The apprehension by the spirit of what it cannot do without.

Malja'. The heart's confidence in the attainment of its desire.

Manja. The heart's escape from the place of imperfection.

Kulliyyat. The absorption (*istighraq*) of the attributes of humanity in the Universal (*kulliyyat*).

Lawa'ih. Affirmation of the object of desire, notwithstanding the advent of the negation thereof (*ithbat-i murad ba wurud-i nafy-i an*).

Lawami'. The manifestation of (spiritual) light to the heart while its acquirements (*fawa'id*) continue to subsist.

Tawali'. The appearance of the splendours of (mystical) knowledge to the heart.

Tawariq. That which comes into the heart, either with glad tidings or with rebuke, in secret converse (with God) at night.

Lata'if. A symbol (*isharati*), presented to the heart, of subtleties of feeling.

Sirr. Concealment of feelings of love.

Najwa. Concealment of imperfections from the knowledge of other (than God)

Isharat. Giving information to another of the object of desire, without uttering it on the tongue.

Ima. Addressing anyone allusively, without spoken or unspoken explanation (*be 'ibarat u isharat*).

Warid. The descent of spiritual meanings upon the heart.

Intibah. The departure of heedlessness from the heart.

Ishtibah. Perplexity felt in deciding between truth and falsehood.

Qarar. The departure of vacillation from the reality of one's feeling.

Inzi'aj. The agitation of the heart in the state of ecstasy (*wajd*).

Another class of technical terms are those which the Sufis employ, without metaphor, in unification (*tawhid*) and in setting forth their firm belief in spiritual realities.

'Alam. The term *'alam* (world) denotes the creatures of God. It is said that there are 18,000 or 50,000 worlds. Philosophers say there are two worlds, an upper and a lower, while theologians say that *'alam* is whatever exists between the Throne of God and the earth. In short, *'alam* is the collective mass of created things. The Sufis speak of the world of spirits (*arwah*) and the world of souls (*nufus*), but they do not mean the same thing as the philosophers. What they mean is "the collective mass of spirits and souls".

Muhdath. Posterior in existence, i.e. it was not and afterwards was

Qadim. Anterior in existence, i.e. it always was, and its being was anterior to all beings. This is nothing but God.

Azal. That which has no beginning.

Abad. That which has no end.

Dhat. The being and reality of a thing.

Sifat. That which does not admit of qualification (na't), because it is not self-subsistent.

Ism. That which is not the object named (*ghayr-i musamma*).

Tasmiyat. Information concerning the object named.

Nafy. That which entails the existence of every object of affirmation.

Ithbat. That which entails the existence of every object of affirmation.

Siyyan. The possibility of the existence of one thing with another.

Diddan. The impossibility of the existence of one thing simultaneously with the existence of another.

Ghayran. The possibility of the existence of either of two things, notwithstanding the annihilation of the other.

Jawhar. The basis (asl) of a thing; that which is self-subsistent.

'Arad. That which subsists in jawhar (substance)

Jism. Tthat which is composed of separate parts.

Su'al. Seeking a reality.

Jawab. Giving information concerning the subject-matter of a question (*su'al*).

Husn. That which is conformable to the (Divine) command.

Qubh. That which is not conformable to the (Divine) command.

Safah. Neglect of the (Divine) command.

Zulm. Putting a thing in a place that is not worthy of it.

'Adl. Putting everything in its proper place.

Malik. He with whose actions it is impossible to interfere.

Another class of terms requiring explanation are those which are commonly used by the Sufis in a mystical sense that is not familiar to philologists.

Khatir. By *khatir* (passing thought) the Sufis signify the occurence in the mind of something which is quickly removed by another thought, and which its owner is able to repel from his mind. Those who have such thoughts follow the first thought in matters which come directly from God to Man. It is said that the thought occurred to Khayr Nassaj

that Junayd was waiting at his door, but he wished to repel it. The same thought returned twice and thrice, whereupon he went out and discovered Junayd, who said to him: "If you had followed the first thought it would not have been necessary for me to stand here all this time." How was Junayd acquainted with the thought which occurred to Khayr? This question has been asked, and has been answered by the remark that Junayd was Khayr's spiritual director, and a spiritual director cannot fail to be acquainted with all that happens to one of his disciples.

Waqi'a. By waqi'a they signify a thought which appears in the mind and remains there, unlike khatir, and which the seeker has no means whatever of repelling: thus they say, *khatara 'alaqalbi*, "it occurred to my mind," but *waqa'a fi qalbi*, "it sank into my mind." All minds are subject to *khatir* (passing thought), but *waqi'a* is possible only in a mind that is entirely filled with the notion of God. Hence, when any obstacle appears to the novice on the Way to God, they call it "a fetter" (*qayd*) and say: "A *waqi'a* has befallen him." Philologists also use the term *waqi'a* to signify any difficult question, and when it is answered satisfactorily they say, *waqi'a* hall *shud*, "the difficulty is solved." But the mystics say that *waqi'a* is that which is insoluble, and that whatever is solved is a *khatir*, not a *waqi'a*, since the obstacles which confront mystics are not unimportant matters on which varying judgments are continually being formed.

Ikhtiyar. By *ikhtiyar* they signify their preference of God's choice to their own, i.e. they are content with the good and evil which God has chosen for them. A man's preference of God's choice is itself the result of God's choice, for unless God had caused him to have no choice, he would never have let his own choice go. When Abu Yazid was asked, "Who is the prince (*amir*)?" he replied,

"He to whom no choice is left, and to whom God's choice has become the only choice." It is related that Junayd, having caught fever, implored God to give him health. A voice spoke in his heart: "Who art thou to plead in My kingdom and make a choice? I can manage My kingdom better than thou. Do thou choose My choice instead of coming forward with thine."

Imtihan. By this expression they signify the probation of the hearts of the saints by diverse afflictions which come to them from God, such as fear, grief, contraction, awe, etc. God hath said: "They whose hearts God hath proved for piety's sake: they shall win pardon and a great reward" (Qur.xlix,3). This is a lofty grade.

Bala. By *bala* (affliction) they signify the probation of the bodies of God's friends by diverse troubles and sicknesses and tribulations. The more severely a man is afflicted the nearer does he approach unto God, for affliction is the vesture of the saints and the cradle of the pure and the nourishment of the prophets. The Apostle said, "We prophets are the most afflicted of mankind;" and he also said, "The prophets are the most afflicted of mankind, then the saints, and then other men according to their respective ranks." *Bala* is the name of a tribulation, which descends on the heart and body of a true believer and which is really a blessing; and inasmuch as the mystery thereof is concealed from him, he is divinely recompensed for supporting the pains thereof. Tribulation that befalls unbelievers is not affliction (*bala*), but misery (*shaqawat*), and unbelievers never obtain relief from misery. The degree of *bala* is more honourable than that of *imtihan*, for *imtihan* affects the heart only, whereas *bala* affects both the heart and the body and is thus more powerful.

Tahalli. Imitation of praiseworthy people in word and

deed. The Apostle said: "Faith is not acquired by tahalli (adorning one's self with the qualities of others) and tamanni (wishing), but it is that which sinks deep into the heart and is verified by action." Tahalli, then, is to imitate people without really acting like them. Those who seem to be what they are not will soon be put to shame, and their secret character will be revealed. In the view of spiritualists, however, they are already disgraced and their secret character is clear.

Tajalli. The blessed effect of Divine illumination on the hearts of the blest, whereby they are made capable of seeing God with their hearts. The difference between spiritual vision (*ru'yat ba-dil*) and actual vision (*ru'yat-i 'iyan*) is this, that those who experience *tajalli* (manifestation of God) see or do not see, according as they wish, or see at one time and do not see at another time, while those who experience actual vision in Paradise cannot but see, even though they wish not to see; for it is possible that *tajalli* should be hidden, whereas *ru'yat* (vision) cannot possibly be veiled.

Takhalli. Turning away from distractions which prevent a man from attaining to God. One of these is the present world, of which he should empty his hands; another is desire for the next world, of which he should empty his heart; a third is indulgence in vanity, of which he should empty his spirit; and a fourth is association with created beings, of which he should empty himself and from the thought of which he should disengage his mind.

Shurud. The meaning of *shurud* is "seeking restlessly to escape from (worldly) corruptions and veils"; for all the misfortunes of the seeker arise from his being veiled, and when the veil is lifted he becomes united with God. The Sufis apply the term *shurud* to his becoming unveiled

(*isfar*) and his using every resource for that purpose; for in the beginning, i.e. in search, he is more restless; in the end, i.e. in union, he becomes more steadfast.

Qusud. By *qusud* (aims) they signify perfect resolution to seek the reality of the object of search. The aims of the Sufis do not depend on motion and rest, because the lover, although he be at rest in love, is still pursuing an aim (*qasid*). In this respect the Sufis differ from ordinary men, whose aims produce in them some effect outwardly or inwardly; whereas the lovers of God seek Him without any cause and pursue their aim without movement of their own, and all their qualities are directed towards that goal. Where love exists, all is an aim.

Istina. By this term they mean that God makes a man faultless through the annihilation of all his selfish interests and sensual pleasures, and transforms in him the attributes of his lower soul, so that he becomes selfless. This degree belongs exclusively to the prophets, but some Shaykhs hold that it maybe attained by the saints also.

Istifa. This signifies that God makes a man's heart empty to receive the knowledge of Himself, so that His knowledge (*ma'rifat*) diffuses its purity through his heart. In this degree all believers, the vulgar as well as the elect, are alike, whether they are sinful or pious or saints or prophets, for God hath said: "We have given the Book as a heritage unto those of our servants whom We have chosen (*istafayna*): some of them are they who injure their own souls; some are they who keep the mean; and some are they who excel in good works" (Qur.xxxv,29)

Istilam. The manifestations (*tajalliyat*) of God which cause a man to be entirely overpowered by a merciful probation (*imtihan*), while his will is reduced to naught. *Qalb-i mumtahan*, "a proved heart," and *qalb-i mustalam*,

"a destroyed heart," bear the same meaning, although in the current usage of Sufi phraseology *istilam* is more particular and exquisite than *imtihan*.

Rayn. A veil on the heart, i.e. the veil of infidelity and error, which cannot be removed except by faith. God hath said, describing the hearts of the unbelievers (Qur.lxxxiii, 14): "By no means, but what they used to do hath covered their hearts" (*rana'ala qulubihim*). Some have said that *rayn* cannot possibly be removed in any manner, since the hearts of unbelievers are not capable of receiving Islam, and those who do receive it must have been, in the fore knowledge of God, true believers.

Ghayn. A veil on the heart which is removed by asking pardon of God. It maybe either thin or dense. The latter is for those who forget (God) and commit great sins; the former is for all, not excepting saint or prophet. Did not the Apostle say, "Verily, my heart is obscured (*yughanu 'ala qalbi*), and verily I ask pardon of God a hundred times every day." For removing the dense veil a proper repentance is necessary, and for removing the thin veil a sincere return to God. Repentance (tawbah) is a turning back from disobedience to obedience, and return (*ruju'*) is a turning back from self to God. Repentance is repentance from sin: the sin of common men is opposition to God's command, while the sin of lovers (of God) is opposition to God's will: therefore, the sin of common men is disobedience, and that of lovers in consciousness of their own existence. If anyone turns back from wrong to right, they say, "He is repentant (*ta'ib*);" but if anyone turns back from what is right to what is more right, they say, "He is returning (*a'ib*)." All this I have set forth in the chapter on repentance.

Talbis. They denote by *talbis* the appearance of a thing when its appearance is contrary to its reality, as God hath

said: "We should assuredly have deceived them (*lalabasna 'alayhim*) as they deceive others" (Qur.vi,9). This quality of deception cannot possibly belong to anyone except God, who shows the unbeliever in the guise of a believer and the believer in the guise of an unbeliever, until the time shall come for the manifestation of His decree and of the reality in every case. When a Sufi conceals good qualities under a mask of bad, they say: "He is practising deception (talbis)," but they use this term in such instances only, and do not apply it to ostentation and hypocrisy, which are fundamentally *talbis*, because *talbis* is not used except in reference to an act performed by God.

Shurb. The Sufis call the sweetness of piety and the delight of miraculous grace and the pleasure of intimacy *shurb* (drinking); and they can do nothing without the delight of *shurb.* As the body's drink is of water, so the heart's drink is of (spiritual) pleasure and sweetness. My Shaykh used to say that a novice without shurb is a stranger to (i.e. unacquainted with the duties of) the novitiate, and that a gnositic with *shurb* is a stranger to gnosis, because the novice must derive some pleasure (*shurbi*) from his actions in order that he may fulfil the obligations of a novice who is seeking God; but the gnositic ought not to feel such pleasure, lest he should be transported with that pleasure instead of with God: if he turn back to his lower soul he will not rest (with God).

Dhawq. Dhawq resembles *shurb*, but shurb is used solely in reference to pleasure, whereas *dhawq* is applied to pleasure and pain alike. One says *dhuqtu 'l-halawat*, "I tasted sweetness," and dhuqtu 'l-bala, "I tasted affliction;" but of *shurb* they say, *sharibtu bi-ka'si'l-wasl*, "I drank the cup of union," and *sharibtu bi-ka'si 'l-wudd*, "I drank the cup of love," and so forth.[4]

1 Mahq denotes annihilation of a man's being in the essence of God, while mahw denotes annihilation of his actions in the action of God (Jurjani, Ta'rifat)
2 Nafahat, No.15.
3 Here the author refers to the example of Moses, whose prayer for vision of God was refused (Kor.vii, 139), because he was exercising his own choice.
4 This distinction between shurb and dhawq is illustrated by citations from the Qur. viz., lii, 19; xliv, 49; and liv, 48.

CHAPTER XXV

THE UNCOVERING OF THE ELEVENTH VEIL: CONCERING AUDITION (*sama'*)

The means of acquiring knowledge are five: hearing, sight, taste, smell, and touch. God has created for the mind these five avenues, and has made every kind of knowledge depend on one of them. Four of the five senses are situated in a special organ, but one, namely touch, is diffused over the whole body. It is possible, however, that this diffusion, which is characteristic of touch, maybe shared by any of the other senses. The Mu'tazilites hold that no sense can exist but in a special organ (*mahall-i makhsus*), a theory which is controverted by the fact that the sense of touch has no such organ. Since one of the five senses has no special organ, it follows that, if the sense of touch is generally diffused, the other senses maybe capable of the same diffusion. Although it is not my purpose to discuss this question here, I thought a brief explanation necessary. God has sent Apostles with true evidences, but belief in His Apostles does not become obligatory until the obligatoriness of knowing God is ascertained by means of hearing. It is hearing, then, that makes religion obligatory; and for this reason the Sunnis regard hearing as superior to sight in the domain of religious obligation (*taklif*). If it be said that vision of God is better than hearing His word, I reply that our knowledge of God's visibility to the faithful in Paradise is derived from hearing: it is a matter of indifference whether the understanding allows that God shall be visible or not, inasmuch as we are assured of the fact by oral tradition. Hence hearing is superior to sight. Moreover, all religious ordinances are based on hearing and could not be established without it; and all the prophets on

their appearance first spoke in order that those who heard them might believe, then in the second place they showed miracles (*mu'jiza*), which also were corroborated by hearing. What has been said proves that anyone who denies audition denies the entire religious law.

Chapter on the Audition of the Quran and kindred matters

The most beneficial audition to the mind and the most delightful to the ear is that of the Word of God, which all believers and unbelievers, human beings and peris alike, are commanded to hear. It is a miraculous quality of the Quran that one never grows weary of reading and hearing it, so that the Quraysh used to come secretly by night and listen to the Apostle while he was praying and marvel at his recitation, e.g., Nadr b. al-Harith, who was the most elegant of them in speech, and 'Utba b. Rabi'a, who was bewitchingly eloquent, and Abu Jahl b. Hisham, who was a wondrous orator. One night 'Utba swooned on hearing the Apostle recite a chapter of the Quran, and he said to Abu Jahl: "I am sure that these are not the words of any created being." The peris also came and listened to the Word of God, and said: "Verily, we heard a marvellous recitation, which guides to the right way; and we shall not associate anyone with our Lord" (Qur.lxxii,1-2).[1] It is related that a man recited in the presence of ʻAbdullah b. Hanzala: "They shall have a couch of Hell-fire, and above them shall be quilts thereof" (Qur.vii,39). ʻAbdullah began to weep so violently that, to quote the narrator's words, "I thought life would depart from him." Then he rose to his feet. They bade him sit down, but the cried: "Awe of this verse prevents me from sitting down." It is related that the following verse was read in the presence of Junayd: "O believers, why say ye that which ye do not?" (Qur.lxi, 2). Junayd said: "O Lord, if we say, we say because of Thee,

and if we do, we do because of Thy blessing: where, then, is our saying and doing?" It is related that Shibli said, on hearing the verse "And remember thy Lord when thou forgettest" (Qur.xviii,23), "Remembrance (of God) involves forgetfulness (of self), and all the world have stopped short at the remembrance of Him;" then he shrieked and fell senseless. When he came to himself, he said: "I wonder at the sinner who can hear God's Word and remain unmoved." A certain Shaykh says: "Once I was reading the Word of God, 'Beware of a Day on which ye shall be returned unto God' (Qur.ii,281). A heavenly voice called to me, 'Do not read so loud; four peris have died from the terror inspired in them by this verse." A dervish said: "For the last ten years I have not read nor heard the Quran except that small portion thereof which is used in prayer." On being asked why, he answered: "For fear lest it should be cited as an argument against me." One day I came into the presence of Shaykh Abu 'l-Abbas Shaqani and found him reading: "God propoundeth as a parable an owned slave who hath naught in his power" (Qur.xvi,77), and weeping and shrieking, so that he swooned and I thought he was dead. "O Shaykh," I cried, "what ails thee?" He said: "After eleven years I have reached this point in my set portion of the Quran and am unable to proceed farther." Abu 'l-Abbas b. 'Ata was asked how much of the Quran he read daily. He answered: "Formerly I used to read the whole Quran twice in a day and night, but now after reading for fourteen years I have only reached the Surat al-Anfal."[2] It is related that Abu 'l-'Abbas Qassab said to a Quran-reader, "Recite," whereupon he recited: "*O noble one, famine hath befallen us and our people, and we are come with a petty merchandise"* (Qur.xii,88). He said once more, "Recite," whereupon the reader recited: "If he stole a brother of his hath stolen heretofore" (Qur.xii,77). Abu 'l-'Abbas bade him recite a third time, so he recited: "No blame shall be laid upon you this day: God forgiveth you,"

etc. (Qur.xii,92). Abu 'l-'Abbas cried: "O Lord, I am more unjust than Joseph's brethren, and Thou art more kind than Joseph: deal with me as he dealt with his wicked brethren."

All Muslims, pious and disobedient alike, are commanded to listen to the Quran, for God hath said: "When the Quran is recited hearken thereto and be silent that perchance ye may win mercy" (Qur.vii,203).[3] And it is related that the Apostle said to Ibn Mas'ud: "Recite the Quran to me." Ibn Mas'ud said: "Shall I recite it to thee, to whom it was revealed?" The Apostle answered: "I wish to hear it from another." This is a clear proof that the hearer is more perfect in state than the reader, for the reader may recite with or without true feeling, whereas the hearer feels truly, because speech is a sort of pride and hearing is a sort of humility. The Apostle also said that the chapter of Hud had whitened his hair. It is explained that he said this because of the verse at the end of that chapter: "Be thou steadfast, therefore, as thou hast been commanded" (Qur.xi,114), for Man is unable to be really steadfast in fulfilling the Divine commandments, inasmuch as he can do nothing without God's help.[4]

SECTION

Zurara b. Abi Awfa, one of the chief Companions of the Apostle, while he was presiding over the public worship, recited a verse of the Quran, uttered a cry, and died. Abu Ja'far Juhani,[5] an eminent Follower, on hearing a verse which Salih Murri[6] read to him, gave a loud moan and departed from this world. Ibrahim Nakha'i[7] relates that while he was passing through a village in the neighbourhood of Kufa he saw an old woman standing in prayer. As the marks of holiness were manifest on her countenance, he waited until she finished praying and then saluted her in hope of gaining a blessing thereby. She said to him, "Dost thou know the Quran?" He said, "Yes." She

said, "Recite a verse." He did so, whereupon she cried aloud and sent her soul forth to meet the vision of God. Ahmad b. Abi 'l-Hawari relates the following tale. "I saw in the desert a youth, clad in a coarse frock, standing at the mouth of a well. He said to me: 'O Ahmad thou art come in good time, for I must needs hear the Quran, that I may give up my soul. Read me a verse.' God inspired me to read, 'Verily, those who say, "God is our Lord," and then are steadfast' (Qur.xli,30). 'O Ahmad,' said he, 'by the Lord of the Ka'bah thou hast read the same verse which an angel was reading to me just now,' and with these words he gave up his soul."

Chapter on the Audition of Poetry, etc.

It is permissible to hear poetry. The Apostle heard it, and the Companions not only heard it but also spoke it. The Apostle said, "Some poetry is wisdom;" and he said, "Wisdom is the believer's lost she-camel: wherever he finds her, he has the best right to her;" and he said too, "The truest word ever spoken by the Arabs is the verse of Labid:-

'Everything except God is vain,
And all fortune is inevitably fleeting."

'Amr b. al-Sharid[8] relates that his father said: "The Apostle asked me whether I could recite any poetry of Umayya b. Abi 'l-Salt, so I recited a hundred verses, and at the end of each verse he cried, 'Go on!' He said that Umayya almost became a Muslim in his poetry." Many such stories are told of the Apostle and the Companions. Erroneous views are prevalent on this subject. Some declare that it is unlawful to listen to any poetry whatever, and pass their lives in defaming their brother Muslims. Some, on the contrary, hold that all poetry is lawful, and spend their time in listening to love-songs and descriptions

of the face and hair and mole of the beloved. I do not intend to discuss the arguments which both parties in this controversy bring forward against each other. The Sufi Shaykhs follow the example of the Apostle, who, on being asked about poetry, said: "What is good thereof is good and what is bad thereof is bad," i.e., whatever is unlawful, like backbiting and calumny and foul abuse and blame of any person and utterance of infidelity, is equally unlawful whether it be expressed in prose or in verse; and whatever is lawful in prose, like morality and exhortations and inferences drawn from the signs of God and contemplation of the evidences of the Truth, is no less lawful in verse. In fine, just as it is unlawful and forbidden to look at or touch a beautiful object which is a source of evil, so it is unlawful and forbidden to listen to that object or, similarly, to hear the description of it. Those who regard such hearing as absolutely lawful must also regrd looking and touching as lawful, which is infidelity and heresy. If one says, "I hear only God and seek only God in eye and cheek and mole and curl," it follows that another may look at a cheek and mole and say that he sees and seeks God alone, because both the eye and the ear are sources of admonition and knowledge; then another may say that in touching a person, whose description it is thought allowable to hear and whom it is thought allowable to behold, he, too, is only seeking God, since one sense is no better adapted than another to apprehend a reality; then the whole religious law is made null and void, and the Apostle's saying that eyes commit fornication loses all its force, and the blame of touching persons with whom marriage may legally be contracted is removed, and the ordinances of religion fall to the ground. Foolish aspirants to Sufi'ism, seeing the adepts absorbed in ecstasy during audition (*sama'*), imagined that they were acting from a sensual impulse and said, "It is law ful, else they would not have done so," and imitated them, taking up the form but neglecting the spirit, until they perished

themselves and led others into perdition. This is one of the great evils of our time. I will set it forth completely in the proper place.

Chapter on the Audition of Voices and Melodies

The Apostle said, "Beautify your voices by reading the Quran aloud;" and God hath said, "God addeth unto His creatures what He pleaseth" (Qur.xxxv,1), meaning, as the commentators think, a beautiful voice; and the Apostle said, "Whoso wishes to hear the voice of David, let him listen to the voice of Abu Musa al-Ash'ari." It is stated in well-known traditions that the inhabitants of Paradise enjoy audition, for there comes forth from every tree a different voice and melody. When diverse sounds are mingled together, the natural temperament experiences a great delight. This sort of audition is common to all living creatures, because the spirit is subtle, and there is a subtlety in sounds, so that when they are heard the spirit inclines to that which is homogeneous with itself. Physicians and those philosophers who claim to possess a profound knowledge of the truth have discussed this subject at large and have written books on musical harmony. The results of their invention are manifest today in the musical instruments which have been contrived for the sake of exciting passion and procuring amusement and pleasure, in accord with Satan, and so skilfully that (as the story is told) one day, when Ishaq of Mawsil[9] was playing in a garden, a nightingale, enraptured with the music, broke off its song in order to listen, and dropped dead from the bough. I have heard many tales of this kind, but my only purpose is to mention the theory that the temperaments of all living creatures are composed of sounds and melodies blended and harmonized. Ibrahim Khawwas says: "Once I came to an Arab tribe and alighted at the hospitable abode of one of their chiefs. I saw a negro lying, shackled and chained, at

the tent door in the heat of the sun. I felt pity for him and resolved to intercede with the chief on his behalf. When food was brought for my entertainment I refused to eat, knowing that nothing grieves an Arab more than this. The chief asked me why I refused, and I answered that I hoped his generosity would grant me a boon. He begged me to eat, assuring me that all he possessed was mine. 'I do not want your wealth,' I said, 'but pardon this slave for my sake.' 'First hear what his offence was,' the chief replied, 'then remove his chains. This slave is a camel-driver, and he has a sweet voice. I sent him with a few camels to my estates, to fetch me some corn. He put a double load on every camel and chanted so sweetly on the way that the camels ran at full speed. They returned hither in a short time, and as soon as he unloaded them they died one after another.' 'O prince,' I cried in astonishment, 'a nobleman like you does not speak falsely, but I wish for some evidence of this tale.' While we talked a number of camels were brought from the desert to the wells, that they might drink. The chief inquired how long they had gone without water. 'Three days,' was the reply. He then commanded the slave to chant. The camels became so occupied in listening to his song that they would not drink a mouthful of water, and suddenly they turned and fled, one by one, and dispersed in the desert. The chieftain released the slave and pardoned him for my sake."

We often see, for example, how camels and assess are affected with delight when their drivers trill an air. In Khurasan and 'Iraq it is the custom for hunters, when hunting deer (*ahu*) at night, to beat on a basin of brass (*tashti*) in order that the deer may stand still, listening to the sound, and thus be caught. And in India, as is well known, some people go out to the open country and sing and make a tinkling sound, on hearing which the deer approach; then the hunters encircle them and sing, until the deer are lulled

to sleep by the delightful melody and are easily captured. The same effect is manifest in young children who cease crying in the cradle when a tune is sung to them, and listen to the tune. Physicians say of such a child that he is sensible and will be clever when he grows up. On the death of one of the ancient kings of Persia his ministers wished to enthrone his son, who was a child two years old. Buzurjmihr,[10] on being consulted, said: "Very good, but we must make trial whether he is sensible," and ordered singers to sing to him. The child was stirred with emotion and began to shake his arms and legs. Buzurjmihr declared that this was a hopeful sign and consented to his succession. Anyone who says that he finds no pleasure in sounds and melodies and music is either a liar and a hypocrite or he is not in his right senses, and is outside of the category of men and beasts. Those who prohibit music do so in order that they may keep the Divine commandment, but theologians are agreed that it is permissible to hear musical instruments if they are not used for diversion, and if the mind is not led to wickedness through hearing them. Many traditions are cited in support of this view. Thus, it is related that 'A'isha said: "A slave-girl was singing in my house when 'Umar asked leave to enter. As soon as she heard his step she ran away. He came in and the Apostle smiled. 'O Apostle of God,' cried 'Umar, 'what hath made thee smile?' The Apostle answered, 'A slave-girl was singing here, but she ran away as soon as she heard thy step.' 'I will not depart,' said 'Umar, 'until I hear what the Apostle heard.' So the Apostle called the girl back and she began to sing, the Apostle listening to her." Many of the Companions have related similar traditions, which Abu 'Abd ul-Rahman al-Sulami has collected in his Kitab al-Sama';[11] and he has pronounced such audition to be permissible. In practising audition, however, the Sufi Shaykhs desire, not permissibility as the vulgar do, but spiritual advantages. Licence is proper for beasts, but men

who are subject to the obligations of religion ought to seek spiritual benefit from their actions. Once, when I was at Merv, one of the leaders of the Ahl-i hadith[12] and the most celebrated of them all said to me: "I have composed a work on the permissibility of "audition." I replied: "It is a great calamity to religion that the Imam should have made lawful an amusement which is the root of all immorality." "If you do not hold it to be lawful," said he, "why do you practise it?" I answered: "Its lawfulness depends on circumstances and cannot be asserted absolutely: if audition produces a lawful effect on the mind, then it is lawful; it is unlawful if the effect is unlawful, and permissible if the effect is permissible."

Chapter on the Principles of Audition

You must know that the principles of audition vary with the variety of temperaments, just as there are different desires in various hearts, and it is tyranny to lay down one law for all. Auditors (*mustami'an*) maybe divided into two classes: (1) those who hear the spiritual meaning, (2) those who hear the material sound. There are good and evil results in each case. Listening to sweet sounds produces an effervescence (*ghalayan*) of the substance moulded in Man: true (*haqq*) if the substance be true, false (*batil*) if the substance be false. When the stuff of a man's temperament is evil, that which he hears will be evil too. The whole of this topic is illustrated by the story of David, whom God made His vicegerent and gave him a sweet voice and caused his throat to be a melodious pipe, so that wild beasts and birds came from mountain and plain to hear him, and the water ceased to flow and the birds fell from the air. It is related that during a month's space the people who were gathered round him in the desert ate no food, and the children neither wept nor asked for milk; and whenever the folk departed it was found that many had died of the

rapture that seized them as they listened to his voice: on time, it is said, the tale of the dead amounted to seven hundred maidens and twelve thousand old men. Then God, wishing to separate those who listened to the voice and followed their temperament from the followers of the truth (*ahl-i haqq*) who listened to the spiritual reality, permitted Iblis to work his will and display his wiles. Iblis fashioned a mandoline and a flute and took up a station opposite to the place where David was singing. David's audience became divided into two parties: the blest and the damned. Those who were destined to damnation lent ear to the music of Iblis, while those who were destined to felicity remained listening to the voice of David. The spiritualists (*ahl-i ma'ni*) were conscious of nothing except David's voice, for they saw God alone; if they heard the Devil's music, they regarded it as a temptation proceeding from God, and if they heard David's voice, they recognized it as being a direction from God; wherefore they abandoned all things that are merely subsidiary and saw both right and wrong as they really are. When a man has auditition of this kind, whatever he hears is lawful to him. Some impostors, however, say that their audition is contrary to the reality. This is absurd, for the perfection of saintship consists in seeing everything as it really is, that the vision maybe right; if you see otherwise, the vision is wrong. The Apostle said: "O God, let us see things as they are." Similarly, right audition consists in hearing everything as it is in quality and predicament. The reason why men are seduced and their passions excited by musical instruments is that they hear unreally: if their audition corresponded with the reality, they would escape from all evil consequences. The people of error heard the word of God, and their error waxed greater than before. Some of them quoted "The eyes attain not unto Him" (Qur.vi,103) as a demonstration that there shall be no vision of God; some cited "Then He settled Himself on the throne" (Qur.vii,52) to prove that

position and direction maybe affirmed of Him; and some argued that God actually "comes", since He has said, "And thy Lord shall come and the angels rank by rank" (Qur.lxxxix,23). Inasmuch as error was implanted in their minds, it profited them nothing to hear the Word of God. The Unitarian, on the other hand, when he peruses a poem, regards the Creator of the poet's nature and the Disposer of his thoughts, and drawing an admonition therefrom, sees in the act an evidence of the Agent. Thus he finds the right way even in falsehood, while those whom we have mentioned above lose the way in the midst of truth.

SECTION

The Shaykhs have uttered many sayings on this subject. Dhu 'l-Nun the Egyptian says: "Audition is a Divine influence (*warid al-haqq*) which stirs the heart to seek God: those who listen to it spiritually (*ba-haqq*) attain unto God (*tahaqqaqa*), and those who listen to it sensually (*ba-nafs*) fall into heresy (*tazandaqa*)." This venerable Sufi does not mean that audition is the cause of attaining unto God, but he means that the auditor ought to hear the spiritual reality, not the mere sound, and that the Divine influence ought to sink into his heart and stir it up. One who in that audition follows the truth will experience a revelation, whereas one who follows his lower soul (*nafs*) will be veiled and will have recourse to interpretation (*ta'wil*). *Zandaqa* (heresy) is a Persian word which has been Arabicized. In the Arabic tongue it signifies "interpretation". Accordingly, the Persians call the commentary on their Book Zand u Pazand.[13] The philologists, wishing to give a name to the descendants of the Magians, called them *zindiq* on the ground of their assertion that everything stated by the Muslims has an esoteric interpretation, which destroys its external sense. At the present day the Shi'ites of Egypt, who are the remnant

of these Magians, make the same assertion. Hence the word *zindiq* came to be applied to them as a proper name. Dhu 'l-Nun by using this term, intended to declare that spiritualists in audition penetrate to the reality, while sensualists make a far-fetched interpretation and thereby fall into wickedness. Shibli says: "Audition is outwardly a temptation (*fitnat*) and inwardly an admonition (*'ibrat*): he who knows the mystic sign (*isharat*) may lawfully hear the admonition; otherwise, he has invited temptation and exposed himself to calamity," i.e. audition is calamitous and a source of evil to anyone whose whole heart is not absorbed in the thought of God. Abu 'Ali Rudbari said, in answer to a man who questioned him concerning audition: "Would that I were rid of it entirely!" because Man is unable to do everything as it ought to be done, and when he fails to do a thing duly he perceives that he has failed and wishes to be rid of it altogether. One of the Shaykhs says: "Audition is that which makes the heart aware of the things in it that produce absence" (*ma fiha mina 'l-mughayyibat*), so that the effect thereof is to make the heart present with God. Absence (ghaybat) is a most blameworthy quality of the heart. The lover, though absent from his Beloved, must be present with him in heart; if he be absent in heart, his love is gone. My Shaykh said: "Audition is the viaticum of the indigent: one who has reached his journey's end hath no need of it," because hearing can perform no function where union is; news is heard of the absent, but hearing is naught when two are face to face. Husri says: "What avails an audition that ceases whenever the person whom thou hearest becomes silent? It is necessary that thy audition should be continuous and uninterrupted." This saying is a token of the concentration of his thoughts in the field of love. When a man attains so high a degree as this he hears (spiritual truths) from every object in the universe.

Chapter on the various opinions respecting Audition

The Shaykhs and spiritualists hold different views as to audition. Some say that it is a faculty appertaining to absence, for in contemplation (of God) audition is impossible, inasmuch as the lover who is united with his Beloved fixes his gaze on Him and does not need to listen to him; therefore, audition is a faculty of beginners which they employ, when distracted by forgetfulness,in order to obtain concentration; but one who is already concentrated will inevitably be distracted thereby. Others, again, say that audition is a faculty appertaining to presence (with God), because love demands all; until the whole of the lover is absorbed in the whole of the Beloved, he is deficient in love: therefore, as in union the heart (*dil*) has love and the soul (*sirr*) has contemplation and the spirit has union and the body has service, so the ear also must have such a pleasure as the eye derives from seeing. How excellent, though on a frivolous topic, are the words of the poet who declared his love for wine!

"Give me wine to drink and tell me it is wine.
Do not give it me in secret, when it can be given openly,"[14]

i.e. let my eye see it and my hand touch it and my palate taste it and my nose smell it: there yet remains one sense to be gratified, viz. my hearing: tell me, therefore, this is wine, that my ear may feel the same delight as my other senses. And they say that audition appertains to presence with God, because he who is absent from God is a disbeliever (*munkir*), and those who disbelieve are not worthy to enjoy audition. Accordingly, there are two kinds of audition: mediate and immediate. Audition of which a reciter (*qari*) is the source is a faculty of absence, but audition of which the Beloved (*yari*) is the source is a faculty of presence. It was on this account that a well-

known spiritual director said: "I will not put any created beings, except the chosen men of God, in a place where I can hear their talk or converse with them."

Chapter concerning their different grades in the reality of Audition

You must know that each Sufi has a particular grade in audition and that the feelings which he gains therefrom are proportionate to his grade. Thus, whatever is heard by penitents augments their contrition and remorse; whatever is heard by longing lovers increases their longing for vision; whatever is heard by those who have certain faith confirms their certainty; whatever is heard by novices verifies their elucidation (of matters which perplex them); whatever is heard by lovers impels them to cut off all worldly connexions; and whatever is heard by the spiritually poor forms a foundation for hopelessness. Audition is like the sun, which shines on all things but affects them differently according to their degree: it burns or illumines or dissolves or nurtures. All the classes that I have mentioned are included in the three following grades: beginners (*mubtadiyan*), middlemen (*mutawassitan*), and adepts (kamilan). I will now insert a section treating of the state of each of these three grades in regard to audition, that you may understand this matter more easily.

SECTION

Audition is an influence (*warid*) proceeding from God, and inasmuch as this body is moulded of folly and diversion the temperament of the beginner is nowise capable of (enduring) the word of God, but is overpoweringly impressed by the descent of that spiritual reality, so that some lose their senses in audition and some die, and there is no one whose temperament retains its

equilibrium. It is well known that in the hospitals of Rum they have invented a wonderful thing which they call angalyun; the Greeks call anything that is very marvellous by this name, e.g. the Gospel and the books (*wad*') of Mani (Manes). The word signifies "promulgation of a decree" (*izhar-i hukm*). This angalyun resembles a stringed musical instrument (*rudi az rudha*). The sick are brought to it two days in the week and are forced to listen, while it is being played on, for a length of time proportionate to the malady from which they suffer; then they are taken away. If it is desired to kill anyone, he is kept there for a longer period, until he dies. Everyone's term of life is really written (in the tablets of destiny), but death is caused indirectly by various circumstances. Physicians and others may listen continualy to the *angalyun* without being affected in any way, because it is consonant with their temperaments. I have seen in India a worm which appeared in a deadly poison and lived by it, because that poison was its whole being. In a town of Turkistan, on the frontiers of Islam, I saw a burning mountain, from the rocks of which sal-ammoniac fumes (*nawshadur*) were boiling forth;[15] and in the midst of that fire was a mouse, which died when it came out of the glowing heat. My object in citing these examples is to show that all the agitation of beginners, when the Divine influence descends upon them, is due to the fact that their bodies are opposed to it; but when it becomes continual the beginner receives it quietly. At first the Apostle could not bear the vision of Gabriel, but in the end he used to be distressed if Gabriel ever failed to come, even for a brief space. Similarly, the stories which I have related above show that beginners are agitated and that adepts are tranquil in audition. Junayd had a disciple who was wont to be greatly agitated in audition, so that the other dervishes were distracted. They complained to Junayd, and he told the disciple that he would not associate with him if he displayed such agitation in future. "I watched that dervish,"

says Abu Muhammad Jurayri, "during audition: he kept his lips shut and was silent until every pore in his body opened; then he lost consciousness, and remained in that state for a whole day. I know not whether his audition or his reverence for his spiritual director was more perfect." It is related that a man cried out during audition. His spiritual director bade him be quiet. He laid his head on his knee, and when they looked he was dead. I heard Shaykh Abu Muslim Faris b. Ghalib al-Farisi say that some one laid his hand on the head of a dervish who was agitated during audition and told him to sit down: he sat down and died on the spot. Raqqi[16] relates that Darraj[17] said: "While Ibn al-Quti[18] and I were walking on the bank of the Tigris between Basra and Ubulla, we came to a pavilion and saw a handsome man seated on the roof, and beside him a girl who was singing this verse:--

'My love was bestowed on thee in the way of God;
Thou changest every day: it would beseem thee better not to do this.'

A young man with a jug and a patched frock was standing beneath the pavilion. He exclaimed: 'O damsel, for God's sake chant that verse again, for I have only a moment to live; let me hear it and die!' The girl repeated her song, whereupon the youth uttered a cry and gave up his soul. The owner of the girl said to her. 'Thou art free,' and came down from the roof and busied himself with preparations for the young man's funeral. When he was buried all the people of Basra said prayers over him. Then the girl's master rose and said: 'O people of Basra, I, who am so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, have devoted all my wealth to pious works and have set free my slaves.' With these words he departed, and no one ever learned what became of him." The moral of this tale is that the novice should be transported by audition to such an extent that his audition

shall deliver the wicked from their wickedness. But in the present age some persons attend meetings where the wicked listen to music, yet they say, "We are listening to God;" and the wicked join with them in this audition and are encouraged in their wickedness, so that both parties are destroyed. Junayd was asked: "May we go to a church for the purpose of admonishing ourselves and beholding the indignity of their unbelief and giving thanks for the gift of Islm?" He replied: "If you can go to a church and bring some of the worshippers back with you to the Court of God, then go, but not otherwise." When an anchorite goes into a tavern, the tavern becomes his cell, and when a haunter of taverns goes into a cell, that cell becomes his tavern. An eminent Shaykh relates that when he was walking in Baghdad with a dervish, he heard a singer chanting :--

"If it be true, it is the best of all objects of desire,
And if not, we have lived a pleasant life in it."

The dervish uttered a cry and died. Abu 'Ali Rudbari says: "I saw a dervish listening attentively to the voice of a singer. I too inclined my ear, for I wished to know what he was chanting. The words, which he sang in mournful accents, were these :--

'I humbly stretch my hand to him who gives food liberatly.'

Then the dervish uttered a loud cry and fell. When we came near him we found that he was dead." A certain man says: "I was walking on a mountain road with Ibrahim Khawwas. A sudden thrill of emotion seized my heart, and I chanted -

'All men are sure that I am in love,
But they know not whom I love.

There is in Man no beauty
That is not surpassed in beauty by a beautiful voice.'

Ibrahim begged me to repeat the verses, and I did so. In sympathetic ecstasy (*tawajud*) he danced a few steps on the stony ground. I observed that his feet sank into the rock as though it were wax. Then he fell in a swoon. On coming to himself he said to me: 'I have been in Paradise, and you were unaware." I once saw with my own eyes a dervish walking in meditation among the mountains of Adharbayajan and rapidly singing to himself these verses, with many tears and moans :--

"By God, sun never rose or set but thou wert my heart's
desire and my dream.

And I never sat conversing with any people but thou
wert the subject of my conversation in the midst of my
comrades.

And I never mentioned thee in joy or sorrow but love
for thee was mingled with my breath.

And I never resolved to drink water, when I was
athirst, but I saw an image of thee in the cup.

And were I able to come I would have visited thee,
crawling on my face or walking on my head."

On hearing these verses he changed countenance and sat down for a while, leaning his back against a crag, and gave up his soul.

SECTION

Some of the Sufi Shaykhs have objected to the hearing

of odes and poems and to the recitation of the Quran in such a way that its words are intoned with undue emphasis, and they have warned their disciples against these practices and have themselves eschewed them and have displayed the utmost zeal in this matter. Of such objectors there are several classes, and each class has a different reason. Some have found traditions declaring the practices in question to be unlawful and have followed the pious Muslims of old in condemning them. They cite, for example, the Apostle's rebuke to *Shirin*, the handmaid of Hassan b. Thabit, whom he forbade to sing; and 'Umar's flogging the Companions who used to hear music; and 'Ali's finding fault with Mu'awiya for keeping singing girls, and his not allowing Hasan to look at the Abyssinian woman who used to sing and his calling her "the Devil's mate". They say, moreover, that their chief argument for the objectionableness of music is the fact that the Muslim community, both now and in past times, are generally agreed in regarding it with disapproval. Some go so far as to pronounce it absolutely unlawful, quoting Abu 'l-Harith Bunani, who relates as follows: "I was very assiduous in audition. One night a certain person came to my cell and told me that a number of seekers of God had assembled and were desirous to see me. I went out with him and soon arrived at the place. They received me with extraordinary marks of honour. An old man, round whom they had formed a circle, said to me: 'With thy leave, some poetry will be recited.' I assented, whereupon one of them began to chant verses which the poets had composed on the subject of separation (from the beloved). They all rose in sympathetic ecstasy, uttering melodious cries and making exquisite gestures, while I remained lost in amazement at their behaviour. They continued in this enthusiasm until near daybreak, then the old man said, 'O Shaykh, art not thou curious to learn who am I and who are my companions?' I answered that the reverence which I felt towards him prevented me from

asking that question. 'I myself,' said he, 'was once 'Azazil and am now Iblis, and all the rest are my children. Two benefits accrue to me from such concerts as this: firstly, I bewail my own separation (from God) and remember the days of my prosperity, and secondly, I lead holy men astray and cast them into error.' From that time (said the narrator) I have never had the least desire to practise audition."

I, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, have heard the Shaykh and Imam Abu 'l-Abbas al-Ashqani relate that one day, being in an assembly where audition was going on, he saw naked demons dancing among the members of the party and breathing upon them, so that they waxed hot.

Others, again, refuse to practise audition on the ground that, if they indulged in it, their disciples would conform with them and thereby run a grave risk of falling into mischief and of returning from penitence to sin and of having their passions violently roused and their virtue corrupted. It is realted that Junayd said to a recently converted disciple: "If you wish to keep your religion safe and to maintain your penitence, do not indulge, while you are young, in the audition which the Sufis practise; and when you grow old, do not let yourself be the cause of guilt in others."

Others say that there are two classes of auditors: those who are frivolous (*lahi*) and those who are divine (*ilahi*). The former are in the very centre of mischief and do not shrink from it, while the latter keep themselves remote from mischief by means of self-mortifi tion and austerities and spiritual renunciation of all cre ed things. "Since we" (so say the persons of whom I am now speaking) "belong to neither of these two classes, it is better for us to abstain from audition and to occupy ourselves with something that is suitable to our state."

Others say: "Inasmuch as audition is dangerous to the vulgar and their belief is disturbed by our taking part in it, and inasmuch as they are unable to attain to our degree therein and incur guilt through us, we have pity on the vulgar and give sincere advice to the elect and from altruistic motives decline to indulge in audition." This is a laudable course of action.

Others say: "The Apostle has said, 'It contributes to the excellence of a man's Islam if he leaves alone that which does not concern him.' Accordingly, we renounce audition as being unnecessary, for it is a waste of time to busy one's self with irrelevant things, and time is precious between lovers and the Beloved."

Others of the elect argue that audition is hearsay and its pleasure consists in gratification of a desire, and this is mere child's play. What value has hearsay when one is face to face? The act of real worth is contemplation (of God).

Such, in brief, are the principles of audition

Chapter on Wajd and Wujud and Tawajud

Wajd and *wujud* are verbal nouns, the former meaning "grief" and the latter "finding". These terms are used by Sufis to denote two states which manifest themselves in audition: one state is connected with grief, and the other with gaining the object of desire. The real sense of "grief" is "loss of the Beloved and failure to gain the object of desire", while the real sense of "finding" is "attainment of the desired object". The difference between *hazan* (sorrow) and *wajd* is this, that the term *hazan* is applied to a selfish grief, whereas the term *wajd* is applied to grief for another in the way of love, albeit the relation of otherness belongs only to the seeker of God, for God Himself is never other

than He is. It is impossible to explain the nature of *wajd*, because *wajd* is pain in actual vision, and pain (*alam*) cannot be described by pen (*qalam*). *Wajd* is a mystery between the seeker and the Sought, which only a revelation can expound. Nor is it possible to indicate the nature of *wujud*, because *wujud* is a thrill of emotion in contemplation of God, and emotion (*tarab*) cannot be reached by investigation (*talab*). *Wujud* is a grace bestowed by the Beloved on the lover, a grace of which no symbol can suggest the real nature. In my opinion, *wajd* is a painful affection of the heart, arising either from jest or earnest, either from sadness or gladness; and *wujud* is the removal of a grief from the heart and the discovery of the object that was its cause. He who feels *wajd* is either agitated by ardent longing in the state of occultation (*hijab*), or calmed by contemplation in the state of revelation (*kashf*). The Shaykhs hold different views on the question whether *wajd* or *wujud* is more perfect. Some argue that, *wujud* being characteristic of novices (*muridan*), and *wajd* of gnostics (*'arifan*), and gnostics being more exalted in degree than novices, it follows that wajd is higher and more perfect than wujud; for (they say) everything that is capable of being found is apprehensible, and apprehensibility is characteristic of that which is homogeneous with something else: it involves finiteness, whereas God is infinite; therefore, what a man finds is naught but a feeling (mashrabi), but what he has not found, and in despair has ceased to seek, is the Truth of which the only finder is God. Some, again, declare that wajd is the glowing passion of novices, while wujud is a gift bestowed on lovers, and, since lovers are more exalted than novices, quiet enjoyment of the gift must be more perfect han passionate seeking. This problem cannot be solved without a story, which I will now relate. One day Shibli came in repturous ecstasy to Junayd. Seeing that Junayd was sorrowful, he asked what ailed him. Junayd said, "He who seeks shall find." Shibli

cried, "No; he who finds shall seek." This anecdote has been discussed by the Shaykhs, because Junayd was referring to wajd and Shibli to wujud. I think Junayd's view is authoritative, for, when a man knows that his object of worship is not of the same genus as himself, his grief has no end. This topic has been handled in the present work. The Shaykhs agree that the power of knowledge should be greater than the power of wajd, since, if wajd be more powerful, the person affected by it is in a dangerous position, whereas one in whom knowledge preponderates is secure. It behoves the seeker in all circumstances to be a follower of knowledge and of the religious law, for when he is overcome by wajd he is deprived of discrimination (khitab), and is not liable to recompense for good actions or punishment for evil, and is exempt from honour and disgrace alike: therefore he is in the predicament of madment, not in that of the saints and favourites of God. A person in whom knowledge ('ilm) preponderates over feeling (hal) remains in the bosom of the Divine commands and prohibitions, and is always praised and rewarded in the palace of glory; but a person in whom feeling preponderates over knowledge is outside of the ordinances, and dwells, having lost the faculty of discrimination, in his own imperfection. This is precisely the meaning of Junayd's words. There are two ways: one of knowledge and one of action. Action without knowledge, although it maybe good, is ignorant and imperfect, but knowledge, even if it be unaccompanied by action, is glorious and noble. Hence Abu Yazid said, "The unbelief of the magnanimous is nobler than the Islam of the covetous;" and Junayd said, "Shibli is intoxicated; if he became sober he would be an Imam from whom people would benefit." It is a well-known story that Junayd and Muhammad[19] b. Masruq and Abu 'l-Abbas b. 'Ata were together, and the singer (qawwal) was chanting a verse. Junayd remained calm while his two friends fell into a forced ecstasy

(tawajud), and on their asking him why he did not participate in the audition (sama) he recited the word of God: "Thou shalt think them (the mountains) motionless, but they shall pass like the clouds" (Qur.xxvii,90). Tawajud is "taking pains to produce wajd", by representing to one's mind, for example, the bounties and evidences of God, and thinking of union (ittisal) and wishing for the practices of holy men. Some do this tawajud in a formal manner, and imitate them by outward motions and methodical dancing and grace of gesture: such tawajud is absolutely unlawful. Others do it in a spiritual manner, with the desire of attaining to their condition and degree. The Apostle said, "He who makes himself like unto a people is one of them," and he said, "When ye recite the Quran, weep, or if ye weep not, then endeavour to weep." This tradition proclaims that tawajud is permissible. Hence that spiritual director said: "I will go a thousand leagues in falsehood, that one step of the journey maybe true."

Chapter on Dancing, etc.

You must know that dancing (*raqs*) has no foundation either in the religious law (of Islam) or in the path (of Sufi'ism), because all reasonable men agree that it is a diversion when it is in earnest, and an impropriety (*laghwai*) when it is in jest. None of the Shaykhs has commended it or exceeded due bounds therein, and all the traditions cited in its favour by anthropomorphists (*ahl-i hashw*) are worthless. But since ecstatic movements and the practices of those who endeavour to induce ecstasy (*ahl-i tawajud*) resemble it, some frivolous imitators have indulged in it immoderately and have made it a religion. I have met with a number of common people who adopted Sufi'ism in the belief that it is this (dancing) and nothing more. Others have condemned it altogether. In short, all foot-play (*pay-bazi*) is bad in law and reason, by

whomsoever it is practised, and the best of mankind cannot possibly practise it; but when the heart throbs with exhilaration and rapture becomes intense and the agitation of ecstasy is manifested and conventional forms are gone, that agitation (*idtirab*) is neither dancing nor foot play nor bodily indulgence, but a dissolution of the soul. Those who call it "dancing" are utterly wrong. It is a state that cannot be explained in words: "without experience no knowledge."

Looking at youths (*ahdath*). Looking at youths and associating with them are forbidden practices, and anyone who declares this to be allowable is an unbeliever. The traditions brought forward in this matter are vain and follish. I have seen ignorant persons who suspected the Sufis of the crime in question and regarded them with abhorrence, and I observed that some have made it a religious rule (*madhhabi*). All the Sufi Shaykhs, however, have recognized the wickedness of such practices, which the adherents of incarnation (*hululiyan*) -- may God curse them! - have left as a stigma on the saints of God and the aspirants to Sufi'ism. But God knows best what is the truth.

Chapter on the Rending of Garments (*fi 'l-kharq*)

It is a custom of the Sufis to rend their garments, and they have commonly done this in great assemblies where eminent Shaykhs were present. I have met with some theologians who objected to this practice and said that it is not right to tear an intact garment to pieces, and that this is an evil. I reply that an evil of which the purpose is good must itself be good. Anyone may cut an intact garment to pieces and sew it together again, e.g. detach the sleeves and body (*tana*) and gusset (*tiriz*) and collar from one another, and then restore the garment to its original condition; and there is no difference between tearing a garment into five pieces and tearing it into a hundred pieces. Besides, every piece gladdens the heart of a believer, when he sews it on

his patched frock, and brings about the satisfaction of his desire. Although the rending of garments has no foundation in Sufi'ism and certainly ought not to be practised in audition by anyone whose senses are perfectly controlled - for, in that case, it is mere extravagance -- nevertheless, if the auditor be so overpowered that his sense of discrimination is lost and he becomes unconscious, then he maybe excused (for tearing his garment to pieces); and it is allowable that all the persons present should rend their garments in sympathy with him. There are three circumstances in which Sufis rend their garments: firstly, when a dervish tears his own garment to pieces through rapture caused by audition; secondly, when a number of his friends tear his garment to pieces at the command of a spiritual director on the occasion of asking God to pardon an offence; and thirdly, when they do the same in the intoxication of ecstasy. The most difficult case is that of the garment thrown off or torn in audition. It maybe injured or intact. If it be injured, it should either be sewed together and given back to its owner or bestowed on another dervish or torn to pieces, for the sake of gaining a blessing, and divided among the members of the party. If it be intact, we have to consider what was the intention of the dervish who cast it off. If he meant it for the singer, let the singer take it; and if he meant it for the members of the party, let them have it; and if he threw it off without any intention, the spiritual director must determine whether it shall be given to those present and divided among them, or be conferred on one of them, or handed to the singer. If the dervish meant it for the singer, his companions need not throw off their garments in sympathy, because the cast off. garment will not go to his fellows and he will have given it voluntarily or involuntarily without their participation. But if the garment will not go to his fellows and he will have given it voluntarily or involuntarily without their participation. But if the garment was thrown off with the

intention that it should fall to the members of the party, or without any intention, they should all throw off their garments in sympathy; and when they have done this, the spiritual director ought not to bestow the garment on the singer, but it is allowable that any lover of God among them should sacrifice something that belongs to him and return the garment to the dervishes, in order that it maybe torn to pieces and distributed. If a garment drops off while its owner is in a state of rapture, the Shaykhs hold various opinions as to what ought to be done, but the majority say that it should be given to the singer, in accordance with the Apostolic tradition: "The spoils belong to the slayer;" and that not to give it to the singer is to violate the obligations imposed by Sufi'ism. Others contend -- and I prefer this view - that, just as some theologicans are of opinion that the dress of a slain man should not be given to his slayer except by permission of the Imam, so, here, this garment should not be given to the singer except by command of the spiritual director. But if its owner should not wish the spiritual director to bestow it, let no one be angry with him.

Chapter on the Rules of Audition

The rules of audition that it should not be practised until it comes (of its own accord), and that you must not make a habit of it, but practise it seldom, in order that you may not cease to hold it in reverence. It is necessary that a spiritual director should be present during the performance, and that the place should be cleared of common people, and that the singer should be a respectable person, and that the heart should be emptied of worldly thoughts, and that the disposition should not be inclined to amusement, and that every artificial effort (*takalluf*) should be put aside. You must not exceed the proper bounds until audition manifests its power, and when it has become powerful you must not repel it but must follow it as it requires: if it agitates, you

must be agitated, and if it calms, you must be calm; and you must be able to distinguish a strong natural impulse from the ardour of ecstasy (*wajd*). The auditor must have enough perception to be capable of receiving the Divine influence and of doing justice to it. When its might is manifested on his heart he must not endeavour to repel it, and when its force is broken he must not endeavour to attract it. While he is in a state of emotion, he must neither expect anyone to help him nor refuse anyone's help if it be offered. And he must not disturb anyone who is engaged in audition or interfere with him, or ponder what he means by the verse (to which he is listening),[20] because such behaviour is very distressing and disappointing to the person who is trying (to hear). He must not say to the singer, "You chant sweetly;" and if he chants unmetrically, he must not say to him, "Chant better!" or bear malice towards him, but he must be unconscious of the singer's presence and commit him to God, who hears correctly. And if he have no part in the audition which is being enjoyed by others, it is not proper that he should look soberly on their intoxication, but he must keep quiet with his own "time" (*waqt*) and establish its dominion, that the blessings thereof may come to him. I, 'Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullabi, think it more desirable that beginners should not be allowed to attend musical concerts (*sama'ha*), lest their natures become depraved. These concerts are extremely dangerous and corrupting, because women on the roofs or elsewhere look at the dervishes who are engaged in audition; and in consequence of this the auditors have great obstacles to encounter. Or it may happen that a young reprobate is one of the party, since some ignorant Sufis have made a religion (*madhhab*) of all this and have flung truth to the winds. I ask pardon of God for my sins of this kind in the past, and I implore His help, that He may preserve me both outwardly and inwardly from contamination, and I enjoin the readers of this book to hold it in due regard and to pray

that the author maybelieve to the end and be vouchsafed the vision of God (in Paradise).

1 After a farther eulogy of the inimitable style of the Quran, the author relates the story of 'Umms conversion.
2 The chapter of the Spoils, a title given to the eighth chapter of the Quran.
3 Here the author quotes a number of Quranic verses in which the faithful are enjoined to listen heedfully to the recitation of the sacred volume, or are rebuked for their want of attention.
4 I have omitted here a story related by Abu Sa'id al-Khudri concerning Muhammad's interview with a party of destitute refugees (muhajirun), to whom the Quran was being read.
5 BI. Abu Juhayn, J. Abu Juhani.
6 Sha'rani, Tabaqat al-Kubra, I, 60.
7 Ibn Khallikan, No.1.
8 B. al-Rashid.
9 Aghani, 5,52-131/
10 The vizier of Khusraw Nushirwan, the great Sasanian king of Persia (531-78 A.D.).
11 The Book of Audition.
12 "The followers of Tradition" as opposed to "the followers of Opinion" (ahl-e-ra'y)
13 See Professor Browne's Literary History of Persia, I, 81.
14 Abu Nuwas, Die Weinlieder, ed. By Ahlwardt, No.29, verse I.
15 The mountains referred to are the Jabal al-Buttam, to the east of Samarcand. See G. Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p.467.
16 IJ. Duqqi. Qushayri, who relates this story (184, 22), has "al-Raqqi". The nisba Duqqi refers to Abu Bakr Muhammad al-Dinawari (Nafahat, No.229), while Raqqi probably denotes Ibrahim b. Dawud al-Raqqi (ibid., No.194)
17 Nafahat, No.207.
18 So Qushayri. The Persian texts have. In the commentary on Qushayri by Zakariyya al-Ansari the name is written al-Futi.
19 Apparently a mistake for Ahmad b. Muhammad. See Nafahat, No.83.
20 The text of this clanse is uncertain. I have followed B.'s reading, u murad-e-ura badan bayt-e-u bi-na-sanjad, but I am not sure that it will bear the translation given above. L. has badan niyyat-e-u, and J. badan nisbat-e-u.

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